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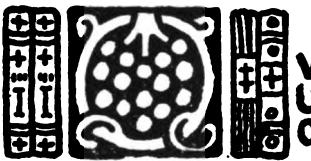
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JURIDICATION
OF ANGLICAN
ORDERS
BY ARTHUR
LOZANDER S.D.D.

IN
TWO
VOLS

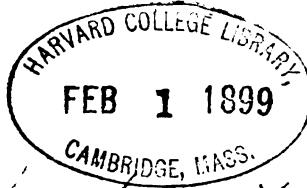


VOLUME
ONE

NEW YORK JAMES POTT & CO
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TO THE
BISHOPS
OF THE ONE CATH-
OLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH
FEEDING THE FLOCK OF CHRIST
SCATTERED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, THIS
WORK IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DED-
ICATED BY A HUMBLE PRIEST
OF THAT CHURCH.

ANNO DOMINI

1897.



PREFACE.

AND WHETHER ONE MEMBER SUFFER, ALL
THE MEMBERS SUFFER WITH IT.—*I. Cor.*
xii. 26.

A VINDICATION of Anglican Orders appears to be called for at certain intervals, not because there is any doubt of their validity on the part of those who hold them, but because the adversaries of the Church of England, in order to defend their own position, constantly renew the attack. Year by year the anomaly of the Italian Mission in England grows greater. It is seen more and more clearly at Rome that Anglican Orders must be discredited at all costs, else the Bishops and Priests sent to England by the Bishop of Rome stand self-confessed as intruders, and fomblers of schism. If Anglican Orders are valid, then not only are the Papal party incurring the guilt of raising Altar against Altar, but the fundamental law of the Supreme Sovereignty of the Bishop of Rome is set at nought by a Church having lawful jurisdiction.

The question of the validity of Anglican Orders is a vital one for Rome. When the Bishop of Rome, therefore, takes upon himself to sit in judgment upon his brethren, and to pass sentence on the validity of their Orders, it becomes the duty of every Priest whose Orders are impugned, and who aspires to be a teacher of his people, to give the matter serious consideration.

This duty is of the greater importance, because a very large number of Christian people look upon the decisions of the Bishops of Rome as having a binding authority upon their consciences. From this point of view alone, apart from the wider issues involved, it is necessary, out of Christian charity, that such utterances should be carefully and intelligently considered and tested by all Christian people and their teachers.

The Church of God is one, if it is, as the Apostle to the Gentiles declared, the "Body of Christ."

"And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it."

If the Anglican Communion had invalid Orders, then, assuredly, all members of the Church Universal, and not her own members only, would be sufferers.

It is a duty which we owe to Christendom to meet all attacks made upon our Orders, no matter from what quarter they may come. Our position as a living branch of the Church Catholic depends upon our possession of valid Orders, since without duly ordained Bishops and Priests the sacramental life of the Church cannot be maintained.

No one Bishop can by his *ipse dixit* validate or invalidate

our Orders, but if a declaration of one who even wrongfully claims such an authority may cause fellow-Christians to fall into error and sin, then it behooves us as members of the one body to do our utmost to save them from such grievous injury.

Fearing lest the late pronouncement of Leo XIII. should cause many Christians to fall into the dangerous error of denying the validity of our Orders, and the efficacy of our Sacraments, I address myself to the consideration of the Bull entitled "Apostolicæ Curæ."

I am deeply sensible that the Church hath many a worthier and abler son to vindicate her position than I am. At the outset I had no intention of writing for publication, much less writing a book, and yet this is a preface to a work of many pages. The work has grown under my hands in this way. I was asked last November to give some lectures on the points touched upon by the Bull of Leo XIII. In January a request was made to me that the lectures be published. After the lectures had been entirely revised and cast into their present form, and had all, with the exception of the last six chapters, passed out of my hands, I, for the first time, saw a notice that the Archbishops of England had issued "An answer to the letter of Leo XIII." It then seemed to me quite useless to go on with my work. It was, however, represented to me, by those who had read my manuscript, that though the Archbishops' reply had dealt fully with all the issues raised, yet owing to my work being entirely of a non-official character, and therefore allowing of a greater detail and latitude of treatment, it might, just for that reason of greater detail,

prove of benefit to many. I was, perhaps, too readily converted to the views of my friends, and agreed to its publication.

To many friends I owe grateful thanks for kind words of encouragement which made me feel it a duty to complete a work which otherwise I would have left undone, as beyond my powers. To the late Reverend Canon Churton, D.D., of King's College, Cambridge, England, I am indebted for many notes and suggestions. The news of his death came to me as I was reading his notes on the proof sheets of one of the chapters of this work—sheets that left England but a day or two before his Master called him, called him suddenly, but surely found him, "a faithful and wise servant." His death removes an unique personage in the Anglican Communion, for he was known and honoured almost the world over, and he knew more of the work of the Church outside of England than any other man. It is, I suppose, no exaggeration to say that he had correspondents in almost every Anglican Diocese. His rich stores of learning were ever at the disposal of those who sought his aid. Patient, learned, humble, he was of that rare type of Priest and scholar that has been the peculiar glory of the Church of England. The words that Casaubon wrote of England may fitly be applied to him: *Ubi cum studio veritatis, viget studium antiquitatis.* To the Reverend Henry Barker, of Rosendale, N. Y., I owe much for his continued kindness, not only in the laborious work of revising proofs, and of compiling the Index, but for wise counsel on many points; to the Reverend W. Lloyd Bevan, St. Austin's School, Staten Island, N. Y., I am indebted for translations of

Salvatore M. Brandi's articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, and of several of the documents given in the Appendix.

My work is done. I leave it to the kindly judgment of my fellow members in the household of the Catholic Church. Union that is lasting is the only union worth praying for. Lasting union can only come about by knowledge. Knowledge comes by discussion. To that discussion may my present work be a contribution.

I pray that whatsoever of error there may be in this work, or whatsoever in it may be contrary to the teaching of the Church, whose Orders I hold, or to the will of her Divine Master, or to the united voice of Catholic antiquity, may find no abiding place in the heart of any. If there be aught of good in it, the merit is not mine, but belongs to the Bishops and Pastors of that august Church who have taught me either by the living word, or from the pages of their works.

A. L.

THE HERMITAGE,
PEEKSKILL, NEW YORK,
June 21st, 1897.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME I.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE
Preface of the Bull. General Remarks.....	I
I. The Question at Issue. Object of Investigation nominally twofold, results in the one enquiry: Has the Anglican Church the Christian Priesthood?.....	4
II. Method of Procedure examined as to its Fairness, Impartiality, Motive.....	II

PART FIRST.

THE HISTORICAL REVIEW.

I. Past Decisions of Papal Curia. History of Documents Cited. Interpretation of Technical Terms.....	19
II. Brief of Julius III. Assumptions of Leo. XIII. Classes of Clergy Referred to. How Dealt with. Orders a <i>diriment</i> to Marriage. Admissions of Leo XIII. Effect of Brief...	27
III. Pole's <i>Facultates pro Episcopis</i> . Its Provisions incorrectly Stated in <i>Apostolica Cura</i> . Its Real Terms. Ruling of Leo XIII.....	43
IV. Pole's <i>Dispensatio Generalis</i> . Form in State Archives. Original in Vatican. Incorrect Quotations by Leo. XIII. True Rendering.....	48
V. Bull of Paul IV. Occasion of Issue. Leo's Argument on One of its Provisos. The Text of the Proviso. Its Effect. Classes of Bishops Affected. Reception in England. Ad-	

	PAGE
missions of Leo. Baseless Arguments. Doubts of Marian Bishops.....	50
VI. Brief of Paul IV. Effect of Paul's previous Decision. Quandary of Bishops. Intensified by previous Excommunication. Scruples of Bishops: How Quieted. No New Policy Inaugurated. Admissions of Romanists	56
VII. Nature of Papal Policy on Mary's Accession. Conciliation. Persecution. Paul IV. His Character. No Condemnation of Edwardine Ordinal. The "Marian Reaction." Disqualification. Deprivation. Reordination. Examination of Episcopal Registers. Hopes of Rome.....	65
VIII. Rome and Elizabeth. Lament of Papists. Pius IV. Papal Overtures. Offer to Acknowledge the Prayer Book. Declined by Elizabeth. She is Excommunicated. Her Excommunication and that of Henry VIII. Compared.....	74
IX. Church and State. English Clergy Alleged to be Civil Servants. Head of the Church. The Queen's Sovereignty. The King's Supremacy. French Bishops Unable to Ordain without leave. Election and Confirmation of Bishops. The divine Right of Kings. The Power of the Lord Pope..	80
X. Invariable Practice of Rome. Sacrilege. Reordination. Simony. Papal Acts Invalidated. Popes Declared Heretics. Infallibility of Papal Decisions.....	93
XI. Case of French Calvinist. History Given. Recent Documents. The Nag's Head Fable. Statements of <i>Civiltà Cattolica</i> . Expediency. Decision Given.....	102
XII. Case of Gordon. History. Latest Documents. Bad Faith of Gordon's Petition.....	111
XIII. Nag's Head Fable. Latest Statements of Romanists in Rome and England. The Fable now Exploded.....	114
XIV. Decree of Clement XI. <i>re</i> Gordon. Secret Documents. <i>The Civiltà Cattolica</i> . The Acts of the Congregation. The Genuine Text of the Decree. The So-called "False Decree." Form and Intention. Shifting of Controversy. Roman Admissions.....	120
XV. Question Definitely Settled. Feria V. No Break of Continuity.....	141

PART SECOND.

THE LITURGICAL REVIEW.

	PAGE
I. The Anglican Ordinal. The Pope's Six Axioms. Quotations Examined. Canons of Trent. Anglican Doctrine, Forms, and Powers. Savoy Conference. Alterations in Ordinal and Prayer Book. Hierarchy. Threefold Succession. Dignity of Office. Signification.....	149
II. Anglican Ordinal for Priests Examined.....	170
III. Roman Ordinal for Priests Examined. Rome's Ministry. Imposition of Hands. Ruling of Congregation of Rites. Doubts as to the real Form. Con-Celebration. Probable Purpose. Vesting. Oaths. Powers Granted.....	179
IV. Degradation and Restoration of a Priest. Character Left after Degradation. The Roman Remnant (left after Degradation) Compared with the Edwardine Ordinal.....	198
V. Rome's Declarations on Form and Matter. Eugenius IV. Congregation of Rites. Council of Trent. Origin of <i>Traditio Instrumentorum</i> . Conflicting Views as to Form and Matter. Rubrics and Prayers at Variance. Modern Attempts to Meet Difficulties.....	204
VI. Anglican Episcopal Consecration. The Service Examined. Pastoral Office. Office and Work of a Bishop. Savoy Conference. English Form. Misquoted by Leo XIII.....	213
VII. Roman Episcopal Consecration. The Service Examined. Consecrator. Imposition of Hands. Anointing. Prayers. <i>Traditio Instrumentorum</i> . Con-Celebration.....	220
VIII. Anglican and Roman Consecration Compared.....	227
IX. Degradation of a Bishop. Imposition of Hands and Character not Recalled.....	239
X. The Episcopate in Relation to the Priesthood. Ordination <i>per saltum</i> . In what Sense is Term Sacrament Used? The Whole Roman Position as Stated by Roman Theologians.....	241
XI. Framers of the Anglican Ordinal. Their <i>Animus</i> . Admissions of Modern Romanists. Commission on Ordinal. Abettors from Heterodox Sects. Puritan Prayer Books.	

	PAGE
Article XXXVI. Real Intention of Framers. Official Language of Church the True Test. Protestant Prayer Books.....	248
XII. Actual End and Aim of the Framers of the Ordinal Shown by Language of Prayer Book and Ordinal and Contemporary Documents.....	262
XIII. Law of Believing and of Praying. Accusation of Corruption and Omissions. No Instances Given. Catholic Rite. Sarum Rite Examined. Admission of Two of Leo's Charges. Denial of the other Two.....	265
XIV. Validation from Time not possible. Roman Doctrine of Expediency. Difference between Terms and Realities.....	273
XV. Anglican Ordinal no new Rite. Origin of the Anglican Ministry. Admission of Leo as to Matter and Form. Infusion of the Holy Spirit. Grace Dependent on the Spirit. <i>Animus</i> of Bull. Contention Narrowed down to a plain Issue.....	279
XVI. The Christian Priesthood and Sacerdotium. When Given and with what Powers. Rome's Appeal to Antiquity. Christ's Charges. Pre-Ordination View. Rome's Dilemma. True Ordination of Apostles. Powers Conferred. The View of the Russian Church.....	287
XVII. The Christian Priesthood: Its Power of Teaching Orally. By Writing, Preaching and Teaching. Reform of Paul IV. Rome has Rendered no Aid in Conflict with Heresy and Error. Has never had any Teaching School of Theology. Roman Ignorance. The Index. Anglican Stewardship of this Power Considered.....	304
XVIII. The Christian Priesthood: Its Power of Evangelizing. Roman Claims Examined. Ulphilas. St. Chrysostom. The Isle of Lerins. Hilary. St. Patrick. St. Columba. Columbanus. St. Gallus. Killian. Virgilius. Gregory the Great. Augustine. Wilfrith. Willebroed. Swithbert. Boniface. Six Great Swarms of Missionaries. Roman and Anglican Missionary Efforts.....	310
XIX. The Christian Priesthood: Its Power of Baptizing. Prim-	

	PAGE
itive Views. Sacerdotal Character. Lay Baptism. Minister. Mode. Form. Matter. Roman and Anglican Rites, and Practice. Confirmation—Roman and Anglican. Summary. Immersion. Affusion. Sprinkling.....	314
XX. The Christian Priesthood : Its Power of Binding and Loosening. In Baptism. In the Holy Eucharist. By Word and Doctrine. By Prayer of the Priest. By Absolution on Open Confession. Private Confession. Mode of Absolution. Precatory. Declaratory. Imperative. Decree of Gratian. By Remission of Ecclesiastical Censures. Indulgences. The Mind of the Anglican Church	326
XXI. The Christian Priesthood : Its Power of Administration of the Holy Eucharist. Our Lord's Command. Deductions from it. A Religious Service. Extending till Second Advent. Performed by Apostles and their Successors. Presentation of Elements. Fraction. Administration of Elements. Intention to Show forth the Lord's Death. Drinking of the Cup. Remission of Sins. Self-Examination. Roman and Anglican Positions Contrasted. The Real Charge against Anglicans.....	354
XXII. The Christian Priesthood : Its Power of Offering Sacrifice. Primitive Titles of the Holy Eucharist Considered. Breaking of Bread. Lord's Supper. Communion of the Body and of the Blood of Christ. Oblation. Sacrament. Eucharist. Sacrifice. Commemoration. Passover. Mass. Roman Use of Term, Mass. Definitions of Sacrifice. Titles Classified under Definitions. Teaching of the Fathers. Of Eastern Liturgies. Of the Roman Missal. Ignorance of Roman Laity. Origin of Theory of Transubstantiation. Council of Trent and its Catechism. The Teaching of the Anglican Church. Her Articles. Her Liturgy. Anglican and Roman Liturgies Compared. Roman and Anglican Stewardship Examined.....	384
XXIII. The Christian Priesthood: Its Power of Teaching the Moral Law. Christ's Precepts. Anglican and Roman Results Compared. Obedience. Verdict of History. Pious Frauds. Superstition. Morality.....	426

VOLUME II.

	PAGE
XXIV. Forms of Ordination—Caution Required in Examination of Final Judgment Should be on entire Service and not on Detached Prayers. The Norm as Laid down by Leo XIII. Ancient Forms Examined. 1. Our Lord's Words, with Illustration from His Baptism. 2. Apostolic Prayers. 3. Canons of Hippolytus. 4. Apostolical Constitutions. 5. Coptic and Jacobite Syrian. 6. Missale Francorum. 7. Leonine Sacramentary. 8. Nestorian. 9. Maronite. 10. Armenian. 11. Catholic Orthodox Eastern Church. 12. Present Roman Ordinal. 13. Elizabethan Ordinal. General Summary and Conclusion.....	437
XXV. The Tradition of the Instruments. Its Origin. Its real Meaning—the Inauguration of the Ordained not a Sacramental Act. The Invocation of the Holy Ghost. The Congregation of Rites. Formerly Tradition was only used in Minor Orders. Present Roman Belief in Tradition modern. Action of Anglican Fathers. Decree of Eugenius IV. Roman Teaching not in accord with the Ancients.....	484
XXVI. The Doctrine of Intention. Catholic Doctrine is to Intend to Do what our Lord Intended to Be Done. Roman Doctrine Fluctuating. Words of Bull in Conflict with Roman Theology—if sincere Would Work Revolution. Alexander VIII. Pius V. Council of Trent. Bishop Catharinus. Bellarmine. Sad Plight of Roman Laity. A safer way for Rome. Mental Reservation. Jewel. Hooker. Intention of Anglican Fathers shown from Prayer Book and Ordinal. Meaning of the Bull. The Eastern Church and Rome. Cause of Rome's Quarrel with Anglicans. Her Attack on Anglican Intention Fails.....	491
XXVII. The Essentials of a valid Ordination, as they Affect the Candidate. The Ordainer. The Service. Summary.....	508
XXVIII. Bull of Leo XIII. superior in Tone to usual Roman Utterances. First Roman Defence of Re-ordination. No Doubt at Close of Argument as to Anglican Priesthood, but Doubt Rests on Roman Orders. Leo Confirms and Renews Previous Decisions. Wisdom of this Course. Appeal to	

	PAGE
History Summarized. Its Results. Liturgical Appeal Summarized. Matter and Form. Priest and Presbyter. Roman and Anglican Ordinals. Witness of Prayer Book to Intention of Framers. Sacerdotium. Christian Sacrifice. Forms of Ordination. Intention. Validation by Time. Importance of Confirmation. Leo's Appeal to Ministers of Religion.....	516
XXIX. The Orthodox Eastern Church. Book of Common Prayer. XXXIX. Articles. Jewel's Apology. The Unchangeable East a Witness against Rome. England's Debt to the East. Ancient British Customs. Sack of Constantinople and the New Learning. The Holy Orthodox Church of the East and its Ten Branches. Points of Difference between Easterns and Anglicans. 1. Mode of Baptism. 2. Con- firmation. 3. Holy Eucharist, its Administration and Ele- ments. 4. Holy Eucharist, Doctrine of. Transubstantia- tion. 5. The Filioque. 6. Invocation of the Holy Spirit. 7. Holy Orders and Marriage of Clergy. 8. Confession and Power of the Keys. Confession in Russia. 9. Church and State. These Nine Points Discussed with Reference to Union. Distinct Missions of Different Races. Liberty in Non-Essentials. Uniformity only possible in Essentials....	544
XXX. Conclusion—The Outlook. Long Preparation Required for important Events. Disintegration of Religious Beliefs. Efforts for Re-union, by Bishops in Canada, in United States, at Lambeth, by Anglicans at Rome. Union in the East. Probable Results of Recognition of Anglican Orders by Leo XIII. Considered. No Re-union possible without Concordat or Conference. The Pope a Monarch, not a Pastor. The Law of Race Religion. Diversity of Teach- ing no Sign of Weakness. Causes of Identity of Teaching and Results when Freedom of Utterance Secured. Plans for Re-union. St. Basil's Conditions. Counsels for Anglicans. Religious Communities. Provision for the Clergy. Altera- tion of Prayer Book and Ordinal. Scanty Church Mem- bership. Theodore. Cranmer. Laud. Mission of the Anglican Communion.....	576
Prayer for Unity.....	603

APPENDIX.

	PAGE
I. Table of a Few Noteworthy Dates.....	iv
II. Official Text of the Bull <i>Apostolicae Curae</i>	vii
III. Elizabethan Ordinal for Priests.....	xvii
IV. Elizabethan Ordinal for Bishops.....	xxviii
V. Present Roman Ordinal for Priests.....	xxxiii
VI. Present Roman Ordinal for Bishops.....	xlvi
VII. Note on the Sarum Ordinal	lvi
VIII. Brief of Julius III.....	lx
IX. <i>Dispensatio Generalis</i>	lxxvii
X. <i>Facultates pro Episcopis</i>	lxxxii
XI. Bull of Paul IV.....	lxxxvii
XII. Brief of Paul IV.....	xciii
XIII. Cardinal Pole's Description of the Anglican Ordinal...	xcv
XIV. Excommunication of Henry VIII.....	xcvii
XV. Form of Absolution Set Forth by Bonner.....	cxiii
XVI. Excommunication of Queen Elizabeth.....	cxiv
XVII. Petition of John Clement Gordon.....	cxvii
XVIII. The Decision of Clement XI. on Gordon's Petition....	cxxi
XIX. Texts of Clement's Decision.....	cxxii
XX. Note on Gordon's Life.....	cxxiv
XXI. Extracts from the <i>Civiltà Cattolica</i> bearing on the cases of the French Calvinist and John Clement Gordon.	cxxvi
XXII. Forms of Ordination.....	cxxxii
XXIII. Two Recent Decisions of the Congregation of Rites on the Service in the Roman Ordinal.....	cxlvi
XXIV. Encyclical of the Great Church of Constantinople in Answer to Leo XIII.....	cxlviii
XXV. Note on the Use of the Word "Transubstantiation" by the Orthodox Eastern Churches.....	clxvi
XXVI. Consecration Prayer according to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.....	clix
XXVII. A Note on a Pamphlet Entitled "A Last Word".... .	clxxi
XXVIII. A List of Works Referred to.....	clxxv
INDEX	clxxxv

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

WHAT ANSWER WILT THOU MAKE UNTO CHRIST, THAT IS INDEED THE HEAD OF THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH, AT THE TRIAL OF THE LAST JUDGMENT, THAT THOU GOEST ABOUT UNDER THE NAME OF UNIVERSAL BISHOP, TO SUBDUE THE WHOLE CHURCH OF GOD, AND ALL THE MEMBERS OF CHRIST UNTO THEE?—*Gregory the First.**

THE Bull “Apostolicæ Curæ” will be found in its original Latin form in the Appendix. The text which has been taken as the basis of the present examination is that of the translation as given in Mr. Barnes’ work, “The Popes and the Ordinal,” which appears to be the nearest approach to the Latin text yet presented.

The Bull, in its original or Latin form, reads straight through without any division into sections. The official English translation is, however, divided into ten sections,

* Liber IV., Epistle 38, to John, Bishop of Constantinople.

each with its appropriate heading. We follow this arrangement, and the argument of the Bull will be dealt with section by section. For sake of ready reference the sentences of the Bull, commencing from the first section, are all numbered consecutively in the margin.

A short preface precedes the sections.

Sections 1 and 2 may be considered as Introductory, Sections 3 to 7 as the Historical Review of the question at issue, and Sections 7 to 10 inclusive as the Liturgical Review.

APOSTOLICÆ CURÆ.

LEO, BISHOP.

SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD.
IN PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE.

We have dedicated to the welfare of the noble English nation no small portion of the Apostolic care and charity by which, helped by His grace, We endeavour to fulfil the office and follow in the footsteps of "the great Pastor of the sheep," our Lord Jesus Christ. The Letter which last year We sent to "the English seeking the Kingdom of Christ in the Unity of the Faith" is a special witness of Our good will towards England. In it We recalled the memory of the ancient union of the people with Mother Church, and We strove to hasten the day of a happy reconciliation by stirring up men's hearts to offer diligent prayer to God. And, again, more recently, when it seemed good to Us to treat more fully the Unity of the Church in a general Letter, England had not the last place in

Our mind, in the hope that Our teaching might both strengthen Catholics and bring the saving light to those divided from Us.

It is pleasing to acknowledge the generous way in which Our seal and plainness of speech, inspired by no mere human motives, have met the approval of the English people; and this testifies not less to their courtesy than to the solicitude of many for their eternal salvation.

The Bishop of Rome here alludes to his recent Encyclical *Satis Cognitum*. It is well to remember that that Encyclical dealt with the unity of the Church of God, and that Leo XIII. declared that unity was impossible without submission to the Roman See. In other words, the Bishop of Rome reasserted his claims to the papacy of the world, and declared, presumably, *ex cathedra*, that all Christians who did not recognize that papacy as defined by himself or his predecessors in office, were cut off from the unity of the Church. Submission to the papacy is the keynote struck at the opening of the present Bull.

I.

THE QUESTION AT ISSUE.

WHAT GREATER PRIDE CAN THERE BE,
THAN THAT ONE MAN SHOULD ESTEEM
HIS OWN JUDGMENT MORE THAN THE
JUDGMENT OF ALL THE CHURCH, AS IF
HE ONLY HAD THE SPIRIT OF GOD?—S.
*Bernard.**

APOSTOLICÆ CURÆ.

§ I.—REASONS FOR REOPENING THE QUESTION.

- 1 *With the same mind and intention, We have now determined to turn Our consideration to a matter of no less importance, which is*
- 2 *closely connected with the same subject and with Our desires. For an opinion already prevalent, confirmed more than once by the action and constant practice of the Church, maintained that when in England, shortly after it was rent from the centre of Christian unity, a new rite for conferring Holy Orders was publicly intro-*

* In regard to the Pope's supremacy, quoted by Jewel, Vol. VI., p. 264.

duced under Edward VI., the true Sacrament of Orders, as instituted by Christ, lapsed, and with it the hierarchical succession. For some time, however, and in these last years especially, a controversy has sprung up as to whether the Sacred Orders conferred according to the Edwardine Ordinal possessed the nature and effect of a sacrament; those in favour of the absolute validity, or of a doubtful validity, being not only certain Anglican writers, but some few Catholics, chiefly non-English. The consideration of the excellency of the Christian priesthood moved Anglican writers in this matter, desirous as they were that their own people should not lack the two-fold power over the Body of Christ. Catholic writers were impelled by a wish to smooth the way for the return of Anglicans to holy unity. Both, indeed, thought that, in view of studies brought up to the level of recent research, and of new documents rescued from oblivion, it was not inopportune to re-examine the question by Our authority. And We, not disregarding such desires and opinions, and, above all, obeying the dictates of Apostolic charity, have considered that nothing should be left untried that might in any way tend to preserve souls from injury or procure their advantage.

THIS is a very curiously worded section. Its meaning has already been differently interpreted in various quarters. A member of the Roman Commission declares that the initiative came from members of the English Church, which, on the other hand, they have publicly denied. The Roman statement and the English reply are both given in the following article, copied from an issue of the *Guardian* of October, 1896:

"We learn from the *Catholic Times* that Father David, preaching at the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Bath, on Sunday, the 11th inst., said: 'It was not quite correct

to say that his Holiness Pope Leo XIII. had taken the initiative and had acted alone in this matter. Truth required him to say that overtures had been made from several quarters in the Anglican Establishment. The question of the validity of the Anglican orders was discussed in a book which was taken to Rome. A copy was given to his Holiness, and others were distributed. The preface to that book was written by an Anglican Bishop, and in that preface his lordship proposed the question again to the Holy See.'

"Father David was on the recent Commission of Divines which sat at Rome, and therefore his statement carries weight. It becomes necessary, therefore, to state the real facts. They are as follows: The Abbé Portal, writing under the *nom de plume* of Fernand Dalbus, opened the matter with his pamphlet. The Abbé Duchesne reviewed that pamphlet in the *Bulletin Critique* for July 15th, 1894. The question was then brought before the Inquisition by certain members of the Roman Communion, and the Inquisition was urged to declare Anglican orders invalid, or at any rate to declare that to hold them to be valid was 'temerarious.' Upon Lord Halifax's arrival in Rome in March, 1895, he was told on all sides that a day was fixed for the promulgation of some sort of adverse judgment by the Inquisition. Lord Halifax saw the Pope and gave him a copy of *De Hierarchia*. The Pope thereupon suspended any action which the Inquisition was proposing to take, and appointed a Commission of Divines, who ultimately reported to the Inquisition. The Inquisition considered the matter, and came to an adverse decision, which was ratified by the Pope and promulgated in the recent Bull.

"Thus the matter was before the Roman authorities before Lord Halifax went to Rome. To say 'that overtures had been made from several quarters in the Anglican Establishment,' or that the Bishop of Salisbury proposed the question to the Holy See, is to say what is not true."

The first impression on reading this first section of the Bull is that it is meant to convey the idea that it was only within recent years that the absolute validity of English orders had been asserted by members of the Church of England. It says, (3) "For some time, however, and in these last years especially, a controversy has sprung up as to whether the sacred orders conferred according to the Edwardine Ordinal possessed the nature and effect of a sacrament, those in favour of the absolute validity, or of a doubtful validity, being not only certain Anglican writers, but some few Catholics, chiefly non-English."

This first impression conveyed by the tenour of the Bull is strongly confirmed on reading the remarks of Salvatore Brandi, of the Society of Jesus. This gentleman published a series of articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, in defence of the Bull.

As occasions may arise to refer to these articles, it may be well to explain the position of the *Civiltà Cattolica*. This publication is a fortnightly review, and its articles are all inspired by the Vatican or the Inquisition.

We reproduce the note attached to the first letter of the celebrated *Quirinus*: *

"The weight to be attached to the *Civiltà* on all questions connected with the Council may be gathered from the

* "Letters from Rome on the Vatican Council," by *Quirinus*.

brief of Pius IX., of February 12, 1886, printed in the *Civiltà*, Serie vi., Vol. VI., pp. 7-15. The Pope declares that this journal, expressly intrusted with the defence of religion and with teaching and disseminating the authority and claims of the Roman See, is to be written and edited by a special staff to be named by the General of the Jesuits, who are to have a special house and revenues of their own. The previous censorship, as is known in Rome, is exercised with particular care, so that nothing appears without the approbation of the *Curia*" (p. 1).

These articles by Salvatore Brandi may therefore be considered to be the official defence of the Bull "Apostolicæ Curæ." They have since been published in pamphlet form, and the references will be, for the sake of convenience, to the pamphlet itself.

On page 7 the writer states that it is within the last sixty years that some Anglicans have pretended "to believe in some way in the priesthood. . . . They profess to believe that the supernatural life of the soul is created, nourished and perfected by sacraments, and that the priests who administer them possess the power of consecrating, of sacrificing, and of remitting sins. Such a power depending essentially on the valid succession of the Catholic priesthood, it is understood why the ritualists have always made a great point of asserting the validity of the ordinations received by them in the Anglican Church."

This defence of the Bull evidently bears out our interpretation of its third sentence. Indeed, as we shall see, throughout the whole of the Bull there runs this covert charge that it is only recently that Anglican

writers have come to read into the Ordinal the validity of their priesthood.

It is sufficient at this stage of the inquiry to briefly remind Rome of a controversy she cannot yet have forgotten—the one she had with Jewel in the sixteenth century, and of her own unsuccessful attempt to answer him through another Jesuit, Harding.

A couple of quotations from Jewel's *Apologia* will answer our present purpose:

"We are come as nearly as we possibly could to the Church of the Apostles, and of the old Catholic Bishops and fathers, and have directed according to their customs and ordinances, not only our *doctrine*, but also the *sacraments* and the form of *Common Prayer*." *

And, again, impatient at the Jesuit's quibblings, he bluntly replies:

"To be short, we succeed the Bishops that have been before our days. We are elected, consecrated, confirmed and admitted as they were." †

Jewel was ordained priest, as he tells us in the reign of Edward VI., and consecrated Bishop in 1560, that is, in both cases, under the Edwardine Ordinal.‡

The *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* appeared in 1562, or within thirteen years of the issue of the Edwardine Ordinal.

The succession of the Catholic priesthood and sacraments is therefore no very recent doctrine in the Church of England, as Leo XIII. and his Apologists would have the world believe.

* Vol. VI., p. 450.

† Ibid. p. 464.

‡ Ibid. p. 454.

The object of the present investigation, according to this section, may be summed up thus : The Bishop of Rome is willing to re-examine the question as to whether "the sacred orders conferred according to the Edwardine Ordinal possessed the nature and effect of a sacrament," or whether "the true sacrament of orders, as instituted by Christ, lapsed, and with it the hierarchical succession."

In the tedious and devious ways along which the writer of the Bull will lead us, it is important to bear in mind that this is the twofold object sought to be reached.

The question which Leo XIII., in his self-constituted authority as judge of his brethren, has set himself to pass judgment on, is therefore the one—Has the Church of England the Christian priesthood as instituted by Christ?

II.

METHOD OF PROCEDURE.

ALONE, NOTWITHSTANDING MY UNWORTHINESS, I AM THE SUCCESSOR OF THE APOSTLES, THE VICAR OF JESUS CHRIST; ALONE, I HAVE THE MISSION TO GOVERN AND DIRECT PETER'S BARK; I AM THE WAY, THE TRUTH, AND THE LIFE.—*Pius IX.**

APOSTOLICÆ CURÆ.

§ 2.—PRESCRIBED METHOD OF EXAMINATION.

8 *It has, therefore, pleased Us to graciously permit the cause to be re-examined so that through the extreme care taken in the new examination all doubt, or even shadow of doubt, should be removed*
9 *for the future. To this end We commissioned a certain number of men noted for their learning and ability, whose opinions in this matter were known to be divergent, to state the grounds of their judgments in writing. We then, having summoned them to Our person,*
10 *directed them to interchange writings and further to investigate and*

* Quirinus, p. 285.

discuss all that was necessary for a full knowledge of the matter.
11 We were careful also that they should be able to re-examine all documents bearing on this question which were known to exist in the Vatican archives, to search for new ones, and even to have at their disposal all acts relating to this subject which are preserved by the Holy Office—or as it is called the Supreme Council—and to consider whatever had up to this time been adduced by learned men on both
12 sides. We ordered them, when prepared in this way, to meet together in special sessions. These, to the number of twelve, were held under the presidency of one of the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, appointed by Ourselves, and all were invited to free
13 discussion. Finally We directed that the acts of these meetings, together with all other documents, should be submitted to Our Venerable Brethren, the Cardinals of the same Council, so that when all had studied the whole subject, and discussed it in Our presence, each might give his opinion.

THE method of examination does not concern us very much. It may be well, however, to point out that while a casual reading of this section would seem to imply fairness and impartiality, in reality there was neither.

When the Bishop tells us that he “commissioned a certain number of men noted for their learning and ability, whose opinions in this matter were known to be divergent, to state the grounds of their judgment in writing,” one would suppose that at least one half of those invited to state their views would have been such as were known to favour the validity of Anglican orders, whereas the fact is, that although the commission consisted of ten members, not more than three of them had been previously known as being in any degree favourable to the validity of English orders, and the com-

mittee had not the right to choose its own president; and the president chosen for them was bitterly hostile. Further, no Anglican was invited to give his views. The commission consisted entirely of Roman Catholics.

Then, again, while every person so invited was nominally free to give his views, yet every session was "under the presidency of one of the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church," appointed not by the commission but by Leo himself. Such a commission or committee would in politics be called by some very ugly names. To crown all, this committee of ten, "noted for learning and ability," were excluded from any voice or vote in the decision. The decision was reached by the Cardinals, who rendered judgment in the matter July 16, 1896.

After a consideration of nine weeks as to the expediency of promulgating his judgment, the Bull was signed on September 15, by Leo XIII.

Since its issue it is strange to notice how the Roman writers who have been put forward to defend it have one and all strenuously insisted on the fact that the document must be considered as the Pope's own.

"Every argument, every line, every phrase, in the 'Apostolicæ Curæ' is truly his."^{*} Salvatore Brandi in his articles is not weary in insisting on the same view. Barnes, in "The Popes and the Ordinal," goes even further, and claims for the document not only that it is the utterance of Leo XIII. in his human character, but that it is his utterance as Infallible Pontiff.

"Hence it can in no wise be taken or interpreted as

* Sydney F. Smith, S. J. *Contemporary Review*, January, 1897, p. 32.

merely a personal utterance, but must be the formal and definitive decision of the Supreme Pontiff as such" (p. 38).

To ordinary mortals, not claiming the divine power of infallibility, but believing in the old adage, "*Humanum est errare*," this "gracious permission" on Leo's part to allow a commission to report to him, seems as amusing a comedy as similar action was to Erasmus in his days.

"If it be true that some men say, that the Bishop of Rome can never err in error of judgment—what need we so many lawyers and learned divines?"*

Why not have regard to the dictum of his predecessor, Boniface VIII., that all law was shrined in the Pope's bosom; or to that of his most learned predecessor, Pio Nono, that the Pope was "The Truth"?

The *Civiltà Cattolica*, in its issue of November 7, 1896, naïvely remarks that the Bull was received with unanimous applause by the members of the Italian mission in England. "Great was the consolation felt by all of them, but especially by Anglican converts. . . . The false and painful condition created by the recent polemics is finally ended; the Bull of Leo XIII., while fully justifying their past conduct, adds new comfort to them."†

A predominating motive for the issue of the Bull is thus apparent. It was to reassure the doubting converts as to the rightfulness of the claim of their new pastors and masters to their obedience, and of the legitimacy of their children in the eyes of the Bishop of Rome, who, following the example of his pious predecessors, thus claims to "dispense

* Quoted by Jewel, Vol. VI., p. 497.

† Page I.

against the law of God or of Nature,"* and to "dispense against the New Testament," and "with all the commandments both of the Old and also of the New Testament."

Let us hear the Papal advocate :

"For the first time in the history of the controversy, Catholic writers of good repute and extensive learning could be quoted as having publicly stated their opinion that Anglican orders were valid from a Catholic point of view. This of itself would naturally tend to disturb the minds of Catholics, especially of such as before their conversion had received Anglican orders, and who now might be doubtful how they ought to act, and especially whether it was lawful for them to seek ordination afresh from the hands of a Catholic Bishop. Moreover, a point which has not received as much notice in England as perhaps it deserves, the marriages of not a few such converts, and the legitimacy, in the eyes of the Church, of their children, was being called into question. Orders being, according to Catholic teaching, a diriment impediment to matrimony, it would follow that, if they had been validly ordained and had subsequently married, their marriage would be null in the eyes of the Church and their children illegitimate."†

The methods taken for the examination of the subject are claimed by the Bishop of Rome to be such that "through extreme care taken in the new examination, all doubt, or even shadow of doubt, should be removed for the future." May it be so.

"By their fruits ye shall know them."

* See quotations from Roman Canonists given by Jewel, Vol. IV., p. 256.

† "Popes and the Ordinal," p. 22.

PART FIRST.

THE HISTORICAL REVIEW.

CHAPTER I.

PREVIOUS DECISIONS OF THE PAPAL CURIA.

TO APPEAL TO HISTORY IS TREASON.—
Cardinal Manning.

APOSTOLICÆ CURÆ.

§ 3.—PREVIOUS DECISIONS—JULIUS III. AND PAUL IV.

15 *This order for discussing the matter having been determined upon, it was necessary, with a view to forming a true estimate of the real state of the question, to enter upon it, after careful inquiry as to how the matter stood in relation to the prescription and settled custom of the Apostolic See, the origin and force of which custom it was undoubtedly of great importance to determine. For this reason, in the first place, the principal documents in which Our Predecessors, at the request of Queen Mary, exercised their special care for the reconciliation of the English Church, were considered.*

16 *Thus Julius III. sent Cardinal Reginald Pole, an Englishman, and illustrious in many ways, to be his Legate de latere for the pur-*

pose, "as his angel of peace and love," and gave him extraordinary and unusual mandates or faculties and directions for his guidance.

18, 19 These Paul IV. confirmed and explained. And here, to interpret rightly the force of these documents, it is necessary to lay down as a fundamental principle that they were certainly not intended to deal with an abstract state of things, but with a specific and concrete issue. For since the faculties given by these Pontiffs to the Apostolic Legate had reference to England only, and to the state of religion therein, and since the rules of action were laid down by them at the request of the said Legate, they could not have been mere directions for determining the necessary conditions for the validity 20 of Ordinations in general. They must pertain directly to providing for Holy Orders in the said kingdom, as the recognized condition of the circumstances and times demanded. This, besides being clear from the nature and form of the said documents, is also obvious from the fact that it would have been altogether irrelevant to thus instruct the Legate—one whose learning had been conspicuous in the Council of Trent—as to the conditions necessary for the bestowal of the Sacrament of Orders.

21 22 To all rightly estimating these matters it will not be difficult to understand why, in the Letters of Julius III., issued to the Apostolic Legate on March 8, 1554, there is a distinct mention, first of those who, "rightly and lawfully promoted," might be maintained in their Orders, and then of others who "not promoted to Sacred Orders," might "be promoted if they were found to be worthy and fitting subjects." For it is clearly and definitely noted, as indeed was the case, that there were two classes of men: the first, those who had really received Sacred Orders, either before the secession of Henry VIII., or, if after it and by ministers infected by error and schism, still according to the accustomed Catholic rite; the second, those who were initiated according to the Edwardine Ordinal, who

on that account could be "promoted," since they had received an ordination which was null. And that the mind of the Pope was this and nothing else, is clearly confirmed by the Letter of the said Legate (January 29, 1555), sub-delegating his faculties to the Bishop of Norwich. Moreover, what the Letters of Julius III. themselves say about freely using the Pontifical faculties, even in behalf of those who had received their consecration "minus rite and not according to the accustomed form of the Church," is to be especially noted. By this expression those only could be meant who had been consecrated according to the Edwardine rite, since besides it and the Catholic form there was then no other in England.

This becomes even still clearer when we consider the legation which, on the advice of Cardinal Pole, the sovereign Princes, Philip and Mary, sent to the Pope in Rome in the month of February, 1555. The royal ambassadors—three men, "most illustrious and endowed with every virtue," of whom one was Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely—were charged to inform the Pope more fully as to the religious condition of the country, and especially to beg that he would ratify and confirm what the Legate had been at pains to effect, and had succeeded in effecting, towards the reconciliation of the kingdom with the Church. For this purpose all the necessary written evidence and the pertinent parts of the new Ordinal were submitted to the Pope. The Legation, having been splendidly received, and their evidence having been "diligently discussed" by several of the Cardinals, "after mature deliberation," Paul IV. issued his Bull *Præclara Carissimi* on June 20 of that same year. In this, while giving full force and approbation to what Pole had done, it is ordered in the matter of the Ordinations as follows: "Those who have been promoted to Ecclesiastical Orders . . . by any one but by a Bishop validly and lawfully

33 ordained are bound to receive those Orders again." *But who those Bishops not "validly and lawfully ordained" were had been made sufficiently clear by the foregoing documents and the faculties used in the said matter by the Legate: those, namely, who have been promoted to the Episcopate, as others to other Orders, "not according to the accustomed form of the Church"; or, as the Legate himself wrote to the Bishop of Norwich, "the form and intention*
34 *of the Church" not having been observed. These were certainly those promoted according to the new form of rite, to the examinations of which the Cardinals specially deputed had given their careful attention.* Neither should the passage, much to the point in the same Pontifical Letter, be overlooked where, together with others needing dispensation, are enumerated those "who had obtained as well orders

35 *as benefices nulliter et de facto.*" For to obtain orders nulliter means the same as by an act null and void, that is invalid, as the very

36 meaning of the word and as common parlance require. This is especially clear when the word is used in the same way about orders

37 as about "ecclesiastical benefices." These, by the undoubted teaching of the sacred canons, were clearly null if given with any vitiating defect. Moreover, when some doubted as to who, according to the mind of the Pontiff, could be called and considered Bishops

38 "validly and lawfully ordained," the said Pope shortly after, on October 30, issued further Letters in the form of a Brief, and said:

39 "We, wishing to remove the doubt and to opportunely provide for the peace of conscience of those who during the schism were promoted to Orders, by expressing more clearly the mind and intention which We had in the aforesaid Letters, declare that only those Bishops, and Archbishops, who were not ordained and consecrated in the form of the Church, cannot be said to have been validly and lawfully

40 ordained." Unless this declaration had applied to the actual

case in England, that is to say, to the Edwardine Ordinal, the Pope would certainly have done nothing by these last Letters for the removal of doubt and the restoration of peace of conscience. Further, it was in this sense that the Legate understood the documents and commands of the Apostolic See and duly and conscientiously obeyed them; and the same was done by Queen Mary and the rest who helped to restore Catholicism to its former state.

In THE Appendix will be found the text of the five documents which are referred to in this section. They are all reprinted from "A Treatise on the Bull," published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and are the most accurate editions yet published.

The documents are :

A. 1°. The *Breve de Facultatibus*, issued by Julius III. to Cardinal Pole, dated March 8, 1554.

B. 2°. The *Dispensatio Generalis*, issued by Cardinal Pole, dated December 24, 1554.

C. 3°. The *Facultates pro Episcopis*, issued by Cardinal Pole, dated probably January 29, 1555.

D. 4°. The Bull *Praeclera Carissimi*, issued by Paul IV., dated June 20, 1555.

E. 5°. The Brief *Regimini Universalis*, issued by Paul IV., and dated October 30, 1555.

A few words are necessary to explain the occasions which called forth these documents. Queen Mary ascended the throne July 6, 1553. Immediately that the news of her accession reached Rome, Cardinal Pole was appointed legate by Julius III., by a Bull dated August 5, 1553, with instructions to secure the submission of England to the Papal See.

Pole was, however, detained abroad for over a year. During this time it was brought to his notice that the Bull did not give him power to deal with orders bestowed since the rupture with Rome. Accordingly he asked for instructions. These were given him under Document A, the Brief of March 8, 1554.

Pole arrived in England November 20, 1554, and reconciled the kingdom to the Pope ten days later, November 30. He thereupon, according to the power given him under the above recited Bull and the Brief, issued the *Dispensatio Generalis*, Document B, by which he promised indulgence and confirmation by the Papal See of all irregularities committed during the schism.

As it would be impossible, so Pole said, for him "personally to reconcile so great a multitude," it was necessary for him to empower persons to act on his behalf in this matter of reconciliation. Accordingly, in January, 1555, he issued the *Facultates pro Episcopis*, Document C. This is the document referred to in the present Bull, "as the letter of the said delegate, sub-delegating his faculties to the Bishop of Norwich." It is manifest that the aim both of the general dispensation, and of the faculties to individuals to carry out that dispensation, was not condemnatory but conciliatory.

On February 16, 1555, Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, and two others were sent to Rome to report what had been done.

On March 11 Julius III. died.

His successor, Marcellus, died also, after three weeks' rule.

Paul IV. was elected May 23, 1555. He welcomed the English mission in June, and immediately issued his Bull, *Præclara Carissimi*, Document D. This Bull confirmed all

that Cardinal Pole had done, subject, however, to the provision "that any who have been promoted to Holy Orders, or to any orders, by any one other than a Bishop or Archbishop duly and rightly ordained, should be bound to receive the same orders from their ordinary, and meanwhile not to minister in those orders." When the Bull reached England men were in doubt as to the meaning of this very provision, and accordingly Paul IV. was asked to explain it, which he did by his Brief, *Regimini Universalis*, Document E.

This is the history of the documents which Leo XIII. alludes to in Sentence 16, when he says, "The principal documents in which Our predecessors, at the request of Queen Mary, exercised their special care for the reconciliation of the English Church, were considered."

As there are some words and phrases used in a technical sense, it may be as well to define their meaning at the outset.

"*Rightly and lawfully*" is generally taken to mean according to canonical right and State law; but Leo XIII. does not always use these words correctly. He seems to consider "*rightly and lawfully*" as meaning solely according to Papal right and law, and thus confuses the reader.

Recte means according to law. Inasmuch as civil and ecclesiastical law are so intertwined, it would mean in most cases according to both laws; but in *all* cases it would mean according to ecclesiastical law.

Rite means solely according to the full ecclesiastical *ritus* or Order of administering a Sacrament. Validly in opposition to lawfully.

Thus in Sentence 39 the Latin *rite et recte ordinati* is officially translated as "validly and lawfully ordained."

Ritus stands for the whole ritual and prayers, or Order of Administering a Sacrament.

Minus Rite. Shorn of its due or accustomed *rite* in so far as non-essentials go. The Sacrament so administered, as, for example, Clinical Baptism, would be valid, though *minus rite*.

The accustomed form of the Church means that the whole customary order or rite has been used as prescribed.

The form of the Church means the legal form, or that which is absolutely essential for legality or validity of the act performed in the eyes of the Church.

Leo XIII., however, confuses and identifies these two last expressions when it seems to serve his purpose, as can be seen in Sentence 33.

CHAPTER II.

BRIEF OF JULIUS III.[†]

THE MATTER THAT LIETH BETWEEN US
IS THIS: "WHETHER THROUGH THE WHOLE
CHURCH OF CHRIST NO MAN MAY BE
ALLOWED FOR BISHOP WITHOUT THE
CONFIRMATION OF THE POPE."—*Jewel.**

WITH some understanding of the history of these five documents, let us turn to see what Leo XIII. has to say in regard to them.

In the letters of Julius III., of March 8, 1554, "there is a distinct mention, first of those who, 'rightly and lawfully promoted,' might be maintained in their orders, and then of others who, 'not promoted to sacred orders,' might 'be promoted if they were found to be worthy and fitting subjects,' for it is clearly and definitely noted, as indeed was the case, that there were two classes of men, the first those

[†] Document A in the Appendix.

* Vol. IV., p. 446.

who had really received sacred orders, either before the ‘secession of Henry VIII.,’ or if after it, and by ministers infected by heresy and schism, still according to the accustomed Catholic rite; the second, those who were initiated according to the Edwardine Ordinal, who on that account could be ‘*promoted*,’ since they had received an ordination that was null.”

So far Leo XIII.’s exposition of Document A. Let us turn to it and see what it does say.

It will be noticed by reference to the document itself, in the Appendix,

1°. That all, clerical or lay, men or women, who had attached themselves to the reformed religion, were to be absolved and received back on their acknowledgment of having been in error.

2°. That all who had been ordained before their lapse into heresy might continue their ministrations at the altar, and could be advanced in their orders, *i. e.*, from sub-deacon to deacon, or from deacon to priest, provided they were deemed to be fitting and worthy persons, and nobody having a prior claim, notwithstanding all previous irregularities on their part, such as celebrating without or against the old rites and ceremonies, committing bigamy, marrying widows, etc., etc.

3°. That Pole may grant dispensations to those who had received orders “not at all, or unduly,” or who had been consecrated by Bishops or Archbishops who were heretics or schismatics or otherwise unduly (*minus rite*) and the accustomed form of the Church not having been preserved.

4°. That Pole may grant dispensations to those who had

received cathedrals and metropolitan churches at the hands of laymen.

5°. That all who had been, *pro tempore*, absolved for their past excesses, etc., may be freely and lawfully appointed to any cathedral as Bishops and Archbishops, and may be promoted to any orders, including Holy Orders and the priesthood, and may minister in them, or in orders which they have already, though unduly (*minus rite*), received, even in the ministry of the altar.

Any fair-minded person reading this would say that every class of clergy was here meant. And that the term "unduly ordained" (*minus rite*) does refer to those ordained under the Edwardine rite we have Leo XIII.'s positive declaration that "they only could be meant." Therefore they, as well as the Henrician Bishops, would under this clause have the benefit of the dispensation.

Again, a little further on, the same Brief declares without any exceptions as to the Ordinal by which they had been consecrated that :

"The Bishops and Archbishops who had received metropolitan or other cathedral churches at the hands of laics or schismatics, and especially from King Henry and Edward his son, are, after being restored to the unity of the Church, to be rehabilitated or reinstated. (*Tuque eos rehabilitandos esse censueris.*)"

Nothing can be more sweeping and inclusive than such a statement. All Henrician or Edwardine Bishops are after their reconciliation to be reinstated in their sees.

If some of these Bishops, those consecrated under the Edwardine Ordinal, for example, had received invalid orders, no

amount of rehabilitation or reinstatement could have made their orders valid. Hence all alike are treated as Bishops, but irregularly ordained Bishops. It is also very noteworthy to remark that in this same sentence providing for the rehabilitation or reinstatement of the Henrician and Edwardine Bishops who had received their temporalities from the hands of laics and schismatics, these Bishops are stated to have rashly and *de facto* usurped the revenues, etc., of the true Archbishops and Bishops.

"*Et eorum fructus redditus et proventus etiam longissimo tempore tanquam veri archiepiscopi aut episcopi temere et de facto usurpando.*"

It is not the Edwardine Bishops, or any of them, that are alone called *not true* Bishops, but the term is general, and it includes *all the Bishops*, those ordained under the old as well as those ordained under the new Ordinal.

All Bishops, in other words, whose election had not been confirmed by the Papal See prior to their consecration were in the eye of Julius III. *not true or valid Bishops*.

Read the Brief of Julius III. as carefully as we may, we find in it no trace whatever of any direction for reordination or reconsecration. The clergy ordained under the Edwardine Ordinal are treated just as all the other clergy in England at that time are treated. The Henrician clergy are to be maintained in their sees and benefices if they are found fit and worthy subjects. Dispensations were to be given "on behalf of all Archbishops, Bishops and other inferior clergy, and also on behalf of all other persons who come or send to you in Flanders, with regard to orders by them not at all, or unduly received, and with regard to the

gift of consecration conferred upon them by other Bishops and Archbishops who were heretics or schismatics, or otherwise unduly (*minus rite*), and not according to the Church's form, and this notwithstanding that they have rashly exercised such orders and consecration even in the ministry of the altar."*

From this summary of the Brief, it will be seen that when Leo XIII. says that by those "not promoted to sacred orders" are meant those of the Edwardine Ordinal, he is in error. The Brief of Julius III. does not deal only with two classes of persons, as Leo would have us believe, those ordained by the old Ordinal and those ordained by the new. There were more classes than two to be dealt with on the accession of Mary.

There were those,

(a) Who had been ordained or consecrated according to the old Ordinal in the reign of Henry VIII., before the breach with Rome.

(b) Who had been ordained or consecrated according to the old Ordinal, still under Henry VIII., but after the breach with Rome.

(c) Who had received their sees or benefices at the hands of the sovereign only, and therefore lacked papal confirmation.

(d) Who had married.

(e) Who had conformed under Edward VI. and used the new service-books.

(f) Who had received minor orders but had not yet been ordained to the major orders.

* The official translation as given by Barnes is here purposely followed.

- (g) Who had received Edwardine orders only.
- (h) Who had received both orders, *e.g.*, deacon under the old Ordinal (*a* or *b*), and priest under the Edwardine.
- (i) Who had received no orders at all, but had intruded themselves into benefices.
- (j) Who had received a presbyterian laying-on of hands.

All these ten classes were in actual existence when Mary became Queen, and all had to be dealt with by the Papal Legate. Let us see how the Brief of Julius III. deals with them.

With regard to classes *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e*, their cases were covered by the second pronouncement of the Brief (the first pronouncement need not detain us, it being a general one, covering clerics and laity, men and women, in fact the whole nation). The second declares that, notwithstanding their having used the new service-books, and celebrated the mass contrary to the rites and ceremonies of the Church formerly used, and having committed bigamy and other irregularities,

“They may minister in their orders, even in the ministry of the altar, provided that before their lapse into heresy of this kind, they were rightly and lawfully promoted or ordained, and that they may retain whatever benefices they have, and of whatsoever kind, secular or regular, even with the cure of souls, as before, provided that nobody else has a prior claim.”

With regard to classes *f*, *g*, *h*, *i* and *j*, the pronouncement in the Brief is, with regard to them:

“That you may be able to use the faculties granted with

regard to any person named in any way in the aforesaid letters, coming or sending to thee at this time, even with regard to orders which they have never, or evilly received, and the gift of consecration which was conferred on them by other Bishops and Archbishops, even heretical or schismatical, or in other ways, unduly or otherwise, the accustomed form of the Church not being preserved (*aut alias minus rite et non servata forma ecclesiæ consueta*), although such orders and gift have been rashly exercised even about the ministry of the altar."

Let us take these cases up in the following order:

- 1°. Unordained.
- 2°. Heretically or schismatically ordained.
- 3°. Without the whole ritual—the accustomed form of the Church not preserved.

1°. As to the first, it is admitted by all students of English Church history that in the time of Edward VI. men thrust themselves, and were thrust almost by violence, into benefices and cures who had not been ordained either by the Roman Ordinal or the Edwardine Ordinal.

To root these men out was the life-long work of the Elizabethan Bishops.* This makes it clear that Leo's contention, that by these unordained men were necessarily meant those ordained by the Edwardine Ordinal is misleading and cannot be sustained.

Again, every student of English history knows that there had been constant protests almost during the whole pre-

* This subject has been dealt with at some length by the writer in a series of articles published in the American Quarterly, *The Church Review*, in 1887 and 1889.

reformation period against benefices being held by men not in Holy Orders. This evil was, perhaps, more rampant on the continent of Europe, and was one of the abuses of the Papal court most vehemently assailed by honest men of all shades of religious opinion. This system of laymen holding benefices was well known to Julius III. It was one of the crying evils of the Church. One Cardinal alone had in the fourteenth century held over five hundred benefices; consequently, when Julius III. spoke of those who had not been so promoted he was alluding to a class of people he was well familiar with.

Long-rooted abuses die hard, and it is not to be doubted that in England men had been "promoted to benefices" who were mere laymen. The Roman court had long ago, in defence of her own system of giving benefices to laymen, pointed out the distinction between a benefice and a cure of souls—that a benefice was the enjoyment of the temporal benefits, in other words, of the income of an ecclesiastical charge. We are not excusing the evil, but simply pointing out that it was an evil introduced and fostered for centuries by the Papal court as a means of increasing its revenues, either by the sale and barter of those benefices for money, or political influence, or by the grant of them in recognition of services whereby the power of the Papal court had been strengthened.

Benefices were bought and sold like pieces of real estate are now, for mere speculation, without the purchaser seeing the benefice or even knowing its exact geographical position. The same benefice might be sold several times over in the course of a single week.

The statement that "besides the Edwardine rite and the Catholic form, there was then no other in England," (*A. C. 27*) may as well be disposed of here. John a Lasco and his foreign congregation were formally authorized by Edward VI. to appoint their own ministers and to use their own proper and peculiar rite in ordination of them. The Church of Austin Friars, London, was given to them, and the Bishop and Mayor of London were forbidden to molest them.

2°. Heretically or schismatically ordained.

Under this head would fall all those who had been ordained under the Edwardine Ordinal by a Bishop who had been consecrated according to the old Ordinal and before the rupture with Rome. The wording of the sentence might also be taken to cover all those ordained who are included in the fore-named classes, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e*.

3°. Without the whole ritual—the accustomed form of the Church not having been preserved.

Here must be meant those ordained by the Edwardine Ordinal, as the words used justly describe that Ordinal from the Roman point of view. It has been denied by Roman controversialists that the Edwardine Ordinal was here meant, but the terms in this third section of Leo's Bull clearly point to this as the common sense view. The latter half of sentence 26 reads: "What the letters of Julius III. themselves say, . . . even in behalf of those who had received their consecration '*minus rite*' and not according to the accustomed form of the Church,' is to be especially noted." That is, it is to be specially noted in this discussion of the value of Anglican orders.

Now comes the historical question, Did the Marian Bishops, in accordance with the faculties granted by the Roman

court, reconsecrate any of the Bishops, or reordain any of the priests who had been consecrated or ordained under the Edwardine Ordinal, on the sole ground, so expressly stated, that their Orders were *nulliter*? The answer to that is a positive *No*.

The records of Episcopal archives in England have been diligently searched, and not a single case of deprivation on the sole ground of the invalidity of the Edwardine orders has been found. A few cases of absolute reordination have been found, which occurred in the early days of the heat and excitement of Queen Mary's reign. On the other hand, however, cases of Edwardine clergy continuing in the enjoyment of their cure of souls without molestation have come to light. These are more fully examined under Chapter VII., p. 65.

There is no trace found of the reconsecration of the one Edwardine Bishop who subsequently conformed under Mary to the Papal authority. Clergy ordained under the Edwardine Ordinal, who had been deprived for marriage, were, after they had done penance, restored without any reordination.

We also find just what we should have expected to find—that persons in some cases were, as we should call it, “reconciled” to the Roman obedience, and that which was deemed lacking in the full rite and custom of the Church was supplied without reordination, such as the anointing with oil, which the schoolmen had deemed of importance, but which the reformers had entirely omitted. The letter issued by Queen Mary on March 4, 1553, contained as its fifteenth article the following instruction :

“Item touching such persons heretofore promoted to any

orders after the new sort and fashion of orders, considering they were not ordered in very deed, the Bishop of the diocese, finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which was wanting in them before, and then, according to discretion, admit them to minister."

Pilkington, in inelegant but forcible language, proves the truth of this "supplying of what was deficient." He writes :

"They would have us believe that the oil hath such holiness in it that whosoever lacketh it is no priest nor minister. Therefore in the late days of Popery our holy Bishops called before them all such as were made ministers without such greasing, and blessed them with the Pope's blessing, anointed them, and then all was perfect; they might sacrifice for quick and dead."^{*}

With regard to the "*traditio*" or handing of the chalice or paten, we must remember that this was contained in Edward VI.'s first book, and that this custom was first disallowed in the second book of 1552. The unction therefore was the principal ceremony lacking in Edward VI.'s first Ordinal. As the second book of Edward VI. came into operation on November 1, 1552, and Edward VI. died July 6, there were few ordinations under it, if indeed there were any at all. In all such ordinations (if any) the *traditio instrumentorum* was entirely lacking.

If we were not dealing with so serious a matter, the whole Roman proceedings might be viewed as grotesque and ridiculous.

At the time of Edward VI. no doubt the schoolmen attached much importance to the "*traditio*" of the instru-

* Quoted on p. 17 of the "Treatise."

ments as necessary to a valid ordination, and as we shall see later on, when dealing with the "matter" and "form" of ordination, Romans are now in doubt as to wherein the "matter" in their own Ordinal is to be found—in the imposition of hands, or in the handing of the instruments, or in both. No one has, however, claimed that the oil is the "matter." Yet here we have the Marian Bishops "reconciling" the Edwardine clergy by a ceremony which Rome has not claimed as vital. The unction could have added nothing to their priesthood, though it would have been useful as an outward token of their submission to the Papal See.

Again in Bonner's Visitation Articles of the same year, "whether any such were ordered schismatical and contrary to the old order and custom of the Catholic Church, or being unlawfully and schismatically married after the late innovation and manner, being not yet reconciled nor admitted by the ordinary, have celebrated or said either mass or other divine service within any cure or place of this city or diocese."

Here we have the Queen's letters put into ecclesiastical practice. One example of a case of reconciliation will suffice.

John Scory was consecrated Bishop of Chichester, according to the revised Ordinal, on August 10, 1551. On the 14th of July, 1554, Bishop Bonner restores Scory to his "pastoral office," and the sole ground alleged for his deprivation is that of his marriage. "Pastoral office" is, according to ancient terminology, the "Episcopal office" only.

The same reason was given for the deprivation of the clergy in Ireland. A commission was issued by Queen Mary "to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion. In

pursuance of this commission five Bishops were deprived: Staples of Meath, Archbishop Browne, Lancaster of Kildare, Travers of Leighlin, and Casey of Limerick. Bale of Ossory had already left the country. The general charge against them was that of being married men, though in the case of Browne there was the special accusation of conspiracy against the Pope." *

According to Papal law, the marriage of a priest was unlawful; in other words, there was no marriage. If the men ordained by the Edwardine Ordinal were in the eyes of Rome mere laymen, their marriages would have been lawful and indissoluble, and they could not have put away their wives. When the Edwardine clergy were ordered to put away their wives, they were treated as priests whose marriages had been null, owing to their priesthood, and not as laymen.

This is a most important point to remember.

We have seen already on p. 15 that one of the chief reasons adduced by Romanists for the need of this present Bull was to decide as to whether the marriages of English clergy who had accepted the Papal faith were lawful or not, and their children legitimate, or illegitimate. The Italian mission had decided that the marriages were lawful and their children legitimate, because they had never received orders. This decision had been called in question, and it was important to have a definite Papal utterance on the point. Beyond doubt one of the chief motives which swayed the Vatican in favour of issuing the recent adverse decision on Anglican orders was the fact that if it was fa-

*Olden's "History of Church of Ireland," p. 317.

vorable, then all the marriages of their converts from the ranks of the Anglican clergy would have been *ipso facto* declared illegal and their children illegitimate. This, as Cardinal Vaughan well knew, would have been most inopportune, and as but few converts would result even if Anglican orders were declared valid, it would be more expedient not to anger and dishearten the old converts. This line of argument was strongly brought to bear on Leo XIII. and his entourage.

As Dom Gasquet, in his reasons* for not conceding the validity of Anglican orders, very truly remarks:

“If this concession, supposing it were possible, became a reality, Anglicans would certainly have a thousand dogmatic reasons for not uniting themselves with us.”

“Concede Anglican orders, and you will be no nearer union, but you will have condemned our past procedure here, and you will make the situation of our converts intolerable.” Such in brief was the argument of the Italian mission in England. From their point of view, we frankly admit its soundness.

That this question of orders as a diriment to marriage is a most important point in the whole of this controversy, will also appear when we come to consider Section 4, where the case “of a certain French Calvinist” is brought forward.

Moreover, the Brief of Julius III., as if to avoid any possibility of doubt as to the express inclusion of the clergy ordained under the Edwardine Ordinal, in this general dispensation states in its final clause that Pole is given power

* As given in *Church Times* of October 2, 1896.

"to promote men to any orders, even sacred and priestly orders, and to allow them in these orders, or even in those already received by them unduly (*minus rite*) to serve even in the ministry of the altar, and also to receive the gift of consecration and to use it freely and lawfully."

Here, then, we have again the use of the technical term *minus rite*, which Leo XIII. says applies to the clergy ordained under the Edwardine Ordinal, and to them only. These men are to be allowed not only to exercise their priesthood, but are declared capable of being consecrated Bishops.

The Brief of Julius III. is certainly not only not against, but distinctly in favour of, the validity of the Edwardine Ordinal, nor can it be pleaded that Julius III., when he issued his Bull, had no knowledge of the Edwardine Ordinal. Leo XIII., by his statement that "the pertinent parts of the new Ordinal were submitted to Paul IV.," rather conveys the idea that it was not submitted to his predecessor, Julius. The information was, however, submitted to Julius, and that prior to March 8, 1554. The description Cardinal Pole gave of the Ordinal, which will be found in the Appendix, follows a copy of Lady Jane Grey's proclamation, which could only have been sent in the very earliest days of Queen Mary's reign. This proclamation was issued on July 10, 1553, and the Brief of Julius did not appear until eight months subsequent, on March 8, 1554.

If Pole's account of the Edwardine Ordinal be carefully read, it will be found that Julius could not have described it more fittingly than in the very words he used, "*minus rite, et non servata forma ecclesiae consueta,*" without the full

rite, and not according to the accustomed form of the Church.

We have, moreover, the strong assurance of Leo that Cardinal Pole was conspicuous for his learning, and that it would have been irrelevant to instruct such a man "as to the conditions necessary for the bestowal of the sacrament of orders"; in other words, that he was enough of a theologian to know what constituted valid orders.

We have seen that Julius III. gave no instructions to Pole to condemn Anglican orders. Let us see if the learned Cardinal, in the documents he issued under the authority of the Papal Brief, condemned them, or what use he made of the powers entrusted to him.

CHAPTER III

CARDINAL POLE'S SUB-DELEGATION OF HIS POWERS.[†]

THAT ANY LEGATES SHOULD BE SENT UNTO
US, AS FROM YOUR HOLINESS' SIDE, WE
FIND IT NOT APPOINTED BY ANY COUN-
CIL OF OUR FATHERS.—*Council of Af-
rica.**

WE TAKE the sub-delegation issued by Pole (Document C) before his General Dispensation (Document B) because Leo XIII. quotes it first. This document, as we have seen, was one instructing the Bishops in their several dioceses how to carry out the provisions of the Brief. The mention of this document in the present Bull would lead one to infer that it was issued only to the Bishop of Norwich. Such is not the case. There are copies of the dele-

[†] Document C in the Appendix.

* Quoted by Jewel, Vol. V., 401.

gation still extant in the registers of Canterbury, Norwich, and London, and of other dioceses.

Cardinal Pole in this document delegates the powers given him under the Papal Brief to the diocesan ordinaries, and empowers and authorizes them to grant dispensations and indulgences from all irregularity that persons may have incurred through "receiving orders even from heretical and schismatical Bishops, even unduly (*minus rite*), so long as in conferring of them the form and intention of the Church was preserved, and also through taking oath at their ordination against the Roman Papacy, so that they may minister even at the altar." It will be immediately noticed that Leo XIII.'s quotation is not accurate. Pole did not say what Leo makes him say. In reference to Edwardine orders Leo says that "the Legate himself wrote to the Bishop of Norwich, '*the form and intention of the Church*' not having been observed" (*A. C. 33*).

As the writer of the "Treatise" appositely remarks : "It is one thing to speak of accepting orders, though irregularly conferred, provided that the *form and intention* of the Church was preserved; quite another to say that in the Edwardine orders the *form and intention* of the Church was *not* preserved." *

The same writer also very justly points out that the Cardinal, in sub-delegating his powers, does not hesitate to alter the phrasing of the Papal Brief, "a thing he would never have done had he considered that the Brief contained a formal judgment upon the Edwardine Ordinal." †

* "Treatise," p. 14.

† Id., p. 15.

Cardinal Pole's sub-delegation of powers, written on the spot in England, and therefore with every knowledge of local circumstances, says not one word about the Edwardine orders being invalid.

Examine the document closely, and it covers the whole ground. It allows the men ordained or consecrated under Henry and Edward, though such consecration or ordination was schismatical, and it allows the consecration and ordination of those who had been consecrated under the maimed rite, that is to say under the Edwardine Ordinal, but it disallows all ordinations where the form and intention of the Church were not preserved, that is to say, according to the Protestant modes of ordination introduced into England from abroad.

During the sessions of the Council of Trent, in 1562 and 1563, the only argument ever brought forward against the recognition of the orders then in force in England was that they had not been approved by the Roman Pontiff, and to quote the very words of one speaker, an Irish Bishop, "By this reason alone we refute them, and by no other." (*Hacque tantum ratione convincimus, non alia.*)

In the proposed Bull of excommunication against Queen Elizabeth, it was declared that the Elizabethan Bishops were not legitimate, because "*à Regina assumptos.*" No other reason was given.

Leo XIII., with that ignorance of England which we should expect in an untravelled Italian, states what he evidently considers to be an unanswerable argument. That by the expression of *minus rite and not according to the accustomed form of the Church*, "those only could be meant

who had been consecrated according to the Edwardine rite, since besides it and the Catholic form there was then no other in England" (*A. C. 26 and 27*).

We welcome the authoritative declaration of the Bishop of Rome that the term "*minus rite*, etc.," applies to the Edwardine form and to no other, because this is just what Anglican writers have contended against Roman controversialists that it did mean. Writers of the Roman obedience will for the future be bound by this ruling.

CHAPTER IV.

CARDINAL POLE'S GENERAL DISPENSATION.[†]

THE CHURCH OF ROME, BY A SINGULAR
PRIVILEGE, HAS THE RIGHT OF OPENING
AND SHUTTING THE GATES OF HEAVEN TO
WHOM SHE WILL.—*Forged Decretals.**

LET US now see what the *Dispensatio* (Document B) says. This was the document Cardinal Pole issued after he had reconciled the nation to the Papal See. It was, as will at once be seen, a document cast in very general terms. It may be said to be the basis upon which all future action in regard to the different classes of clergy then at work was to be taken.

The *Dispensatio* was embodied and quoted at length in Mary's Second Act of Repeal, A.D. 1554, and the translation to be found in the Appendix is a transcript of that given in

† Document B, in Appendix.

* Quoted by Janus, p. 88.

"Documents Illustrative of English Church History," compiled by Gee and Hardy. In it occurs the following passage:

"And all ecclesiastical, secular, or religious persons of whatsoever orders, who, although invalidly, yet actually, may have obtained any requests, dispensations, grants, gifts *and indulgences, as well orders as ecclesiastical benefices*, or any spiritual matters by pretended authority of the supremacy of the English Church, and who have returned, at heart, to the unity of the restored Church, we will mercifully receive in their orders and benefices, by ourself, or by those deputed by us for that purpose, as already many have been received, and with them, on this behalf, we will opportunely dispense in the Lord."

The words which we have italicized are the best rendering of the Latin so as to make any sense of it. It has, however, always been felt that the construction of the Latin as given in the statute was defective.

When, in 1895, the original Bull and Brief of Paul IV. were discovered in the Vatican, it was found that Paul quoted the greater part of this very *Dispensatio* of Cardinal Pole, and also this very sentence under consideration, as may be seen by reference to Document D.

One additional word is found in the Papal Bull of Paul IV. which makes the faulty sentence both grammatical and good sense. The word is "*concernentia*," or "relating to."

The sentence therefore reads:

"And all ecclesiastical, secular or religious persons of whatsoever orders, who, although invalidly, yet actually, may have obtained any requests, dispensations, grants, gifts, *and indulgences RELATING TO orders as well as ecclesiastical benefices*, or any spiritual matters by pretended au-

thority of the supremacy of the English Church, and who have returned, at heart, to the unity of the restored Church, we will mercifully receive in their orders and benefices, by ourself, or by those deputed by us for that purpose, as already many have been received, and with them in this behalf we will opportunely dispense in the Lord."

It is thus seen that the declaration relates not to invalid orders, but to dispensations invalidly obtained.

This comes out still more clearly in the slightly different translation, as given in the Roman Catholic paper, *Tablet*, of September 28, 1895 :

"Persons who by the pretended authority of the supremacy of the English Church had in a way which is null and *de facto* obtained various grants, dispensations, favours, and indults concerning orders as well as ecclesiastical benefices or other spiritual matters."

It is evident that the word "*concernentia*" had been carelessly omitted by the person who copied the *Dispensatio* for insertion into the statute; and that in the original, as issued by Cardinal Pole, that word occurred. Paul IV., therefore, undoubtedly quoted the *Dispensatio* correctly, when he included the word "*concernentia*."

Leo XIII. does not.

Careless and incorrect quotations are out of place in a document claimed by some to be an *ex cathedra* utterance of an infallible man.

Infallible man ! Do not these two words contradict each other ?

We have now only two more documents to consider—the Bull and Brief of Paul IV.—Documents D and E.

CHAPTER V.

BULL OF PAUL IV.[†]

OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WHO HAS
DEIGNED TO STYLE THE UNIVERSAL
CHURCH OF GOD HIS BODY, AND HAS
MADE US INDIVIDUALLY MEMBERS ONE
OF ANOTHER, HAS MOREOVER GRANTED
TO ALL OF US TO LIVE IN INTIMATE
ASSOCIATION WITH ONE ANOTHER, AS
BEFITS THE AGREEMENT OF THE MEM-
BERS.—*St. Basil to the Bishops of Italy
and Gaul.**

LEO XIII. reminds us that when the English Ambassadors of Philip and Mary went to Rome to report upon the reconciliation of the kingdom to the Papal See, they were also “charged to inform the Pope more fully as to the relig-

† Document D in Appendix.

* “ Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,” Vol. VIII., p. 283.

ious condition of the country, and especially to beg that he would ratify and confirm what the Legate had been at pains to effect, and had succeeded in effecting, towards the reconciliation of the kingdom with the Church. For this purpose all the necessary written evidence and the pertinent parts of the new Ordinal were submitted to the Pope. The Legation having been splendidly received, and their evidence having been '*diligently discussed*' by several of the Cardinals, '*after mature deliberation*' Paul IV. issued his Bull, *Præclara Carissimi*, on June 20 of that same year" (A.C. 29-31).

It may be well here to interrupt the course of the Bull, in order to state that Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, was one of the Royal Ambassadors. Thirlby had been consecrated according to the old Ordinal under Henry VIII., and had been translated, under Edward VI., from Westminster to Norwich. He had made a formal protest in the House of Lords against the introduction of the new Ordinal. It is not likely therefore that he would have spoken favourably of it to Paul IV., who, after the few days' occupancy of the See by Marcellus, had succeeded to Julius III.

To resume the argument of Leo XIII. He says :

"In this (the Bull of Paul IV.), whilst giving full force and approbation to what Pole had done, it is ordered in the matter of the ordinations as follows : '*Those who have been promoted to ecclesiastical orders . . . by any one but a Bishop validly and lawfully ordained, are bound to receive those orders again.*' But who those Bishops not '*validly and lawfully ordained*' were, had been made sufficiently clear by the foregoing documents and the faculties used in the

said matter by the Legate: those, namely, who have been promoted to the Episcopate, as others to other orders, '*not according to the accustomed form of the Church*'; or, as the Legate himself wrote to the Bishop of Norwich, '*the form and intention of the Church*' not having been observed. These were certainly those promoted according to the new form of rite, to the examinations of which the Cardinals specially deputed had given their careful attention" (*A. C. 32-34*).

The actual text of the passage quoted by Leo XIII. from the Bull of Paul IV. is :

"Provided always that those who have been promoted to sacred as well as not sacred ecclesiastical orders by any one other than a Bishop or an Archbishop duly and rightly ordained, shall be bound to receive the said orders anew from their ordinary, and shall not in the meanwhile minister in the said orders."

This proviso says nothing about an Ordinal, but declares that persons have to be ordained by a "duly and rightly ordained Bishop." The question which a man in orders in England would have to ask himself was not, By what Ordinal was I ordained? but, By what Bishop? A most important distinction. There were several classes of Bishops on Queen Mary's accession. There were twenty-five Bishops. Of these not more than four had been consecrated before the rupture with Rome; sixteen after it, by the old Ordinal; one by a mixed rite (Ferrar, of St. David's); four by the Edwardine Ordinal.

Could any of these men "duly and rightly ordain," according to the Papal theory? Perhaps the original four

might; but, admitting that, could the sixteen? Could the Bishop of St. David's? Could the Edwardine Bishops? This was a knotty point.

If Paul had meant to exclude by this proviso, nothing would have been simpler than for him to say that "all men ordained under the new Ordinal must be reordained." That would have decided the question beyond any doubt. The Edwardine Bishops had already been dispossessed of their sees. The Roman party was triumphant. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with his fellow martyrs, was to suffer. There was, therefore, no need of mincing words.

It is to be noted that the accusation brought against Cranmer, when certainly no accusation was left unsaid, was that he had consecrated Bishops *whose election had not been confirmed at Rome*. And no defect in the rite of his consecration, or of that of the other Bishops on trial, was alleged against them. It was, therefore, a very difficult question for the Bishops at home, in England, to answer as to which of them had been ordained *rite et recte*, duly and rightly.

The present Bishop of Rome asserts that it was a very easy matter to settle, but we shall find that when Paul's Bull reached England the Marian Bishops were much perturbed.

Leo XIII. says the foregoing documents, the Brief of Julius, the *Dispensatio* and *Facultates* of Pole had made it sufficiently clear as to what Bishops were "validly and lawfully" ordained; "those, namely, who have been promoted to the Episcopate, as others to other orders not according to the accustomed form of the Church." Here

Leo admits that those persons referred to in the previous documents as ordained "not according to the accustomed form of the Church" are those ordained according to the Edwardine Ordinal. Now we have seen on p. 33 that the Brief of Julius distinctly empowered Pole to grant dispensations to all, "even in regard to orders which they have never or evilly received, and the gift of consecration which was conferred on them by other Bishops, even heretical, schismatical, or in other ways unduly, or the otherwise accustomed form of the Church not being followed, although such orders and gift have been rashly exercised, even about the ministry of the altar."

Leo XIII. says that certainly the clause "not according to the accustomed form of the Church" refers to those ordained by the new Ordinal, which is just what we have maintained all along. It therefore proves that in this very same clause where reference is made to those who had *never received orders*, the reference could not possibly be to the men ordained according to the new Ordinal. Those who had never received orders were under one category—those who had received orders, though not according to the accustomed form of the Church (*minus rite*), were under another.

When Leo goes on to quote the words of the *Facultates*, in regard to "form and intention," he misquotes them, as we have already noticed on p. 44. Nor is he more accurate when dealing with his predecessor's Bull.

"Neither should the passage, much to the point in the same Pontifical Letter, be overlooked where, together with others needing dispensation, are enumerated those '*who had obtained as well orders as benefices nulliter et de facto.*'"

"For to obtain orders *nulliter* means the same as by an act null and void, that is, invalid, as the very meaning of the word and as common parlance require. This is especially clear when the word is used in the same way about orders as about '*ecclesiastical benefices*.' These by the undoubted teaching of the sacred canons were clearly null, if given with any vitiating defect" (*A. C. 35-38*).

All this is a useless piece of reasoning. Leo XIII. may possess all the art of diplomatic phrasing and *finesse* which his admirers claim for him, yet the men of the sixteenth century have left behind them a great reputation for quick-wittedness. According to Leo, however, they must have been the densest of blockheads if, notwithstanding the receipt of five Papal documents, declaring that they had obtained "orders *nulliter*," they were still of opinion that those same orders had been received by them *rite et recte*.

But it was not their intelligence that was at fault. It is the Bishop of Rome who falls again into an hereditary habit of misquoting. We have already, on p. 48, given the translation of this part of the Bull of Paul IV. A reference to Document D, in the Appendix, will show that what Paul declared null was not *orders* but dispensations relating to orders. The logical superstructure which Leo has raised on his misquotation therefore falls to the ground and deserves no further consideration at our hands.

CHAPTER VI.

BRIEF OF PAUL IV.[†]

OUR APOSTATES THAT BE FLED FROM US TO YOUR CONGREGATION, WHO, AS THEY REMAIN IN THE ORDERS WHICH THEY RECEIVED IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, SO, BEING DIVIDED AND CUT OFF FROM THE CHURCH, AND EXCOMMUNICATE, LAWFULLY THEY MAY NOT MINISTER THE SACRAMENTS.—*Harding's answer to Jewel.**

IF THE Brief of Julius III. be examined, it will be found that at the commencement of the last paragraph, “*Necnon de personis*,” etc., a phrase analogous to “*nulliter et de facto*,” is there used. The usurpation by the Henrician and Edwardine Bishops of the reve-

[†] Document E in Appendix.

* Vol. IV., p. 430.

nues of the true Bishops is described as "*temere et de facto.*"

Thus in both cases these terms are applied to benefices and revenues and *not* to orders.

Strangely enough, though, according to Leo XIII., everything in the previous documents, as well as in this Bull of Paul, was so clear and beyond question, he has now, at the end of this section, to admit that the Marian Bishops were still doubting.

"Moreover, when some doubted as to who, according to the mind of the Pontiff, could be called and considered bishops 'validly and lawfully ordained,' the said Pope shortly after, on October 30, issued further Letters in the form of a Brief, and said: '*We, wishing to remove the doubt and to opportunely provide for the peace of conscience of those who during the schism were promoted to Orders, by expressing more clearly the mind and intention which we had in the aforesaid Letters, declare that only those Bishops and Archbishops who were not ordained and consecrated in the form of the Church cannot be said to have been validly and lawfully ordained*'" (*A. C. 39*).

Here we come, then, to the Brief "*Regimini Universalis*," Document E.

We gladly admit that the quotation and translation is in this case accurate. The decision of Paul clearly lays down the law as to persons, and not as to Ordinals, as we have already suggested was the intention in his Bull. He does not decide between the two Ordinals. He does not say, "Every man ordained under the new Ordinal is to be re-ordained," which would have been the simplest course to

pursue, and the one attended with the least difficulties in England. What he actually does is to throw the responsibility back on the Bishops in England. He declares that all Bishops and Archbishops who have been consecrated in the form of the Church are to be considered as validly ordained and consecrated, and that all persons ordained by them are to be considered as validly ordained. In other words, if the Bishop was validly ordained, then those whom he ordained were equally so.

A Bishop ordained and consecrated under Henry VIII., for example, could confer valid orders, no matter what Ordinal he had used.

And the period intended to be covered by the word "schism" does not refer to the reign of Edward VI. only, when the new Ordinal was first used, but it goes back to the previous reign also. This comes out clearly from other parts of this Brief, notably in the amusing paragraph where Paul IV. speaks of "Henry VIII. and Edward VI., pretended kings of England."

It puts Henry VIII. in a new light as a *pretended* king of England !

It may be admitted that this last Papal declaration does not expressly acknowledge the validity of the Edwardine rite. On the other hand, it does not condemn it. And it does declare that men ordained under it by a "validly ordained and consecrated Bishop" were equally validly ordained.

Is not this, after all, a tacit allowance of the Edwardine Ordinal?

We now come to the last two sentences of this section.

"Unless this declaration had applied to the actual case in England, that is to say, to the Edwardine Ordinal, the Pope would certainly have done nothing by these last Letters for the removal of doubt and the restoration of peace of conscience. Further, it was in this sense that the Legate understood the documents and commands of the Apostolic See and duly and conscientiously obeyed them; and the same was done by Queen Mary and the rest who helped to restore Catholicism to its former state" (*A. C. 40, 41*).

As to the first sentence, however much to suit his present needs Leo may wish to read into the declaration of his predecessor, that it applied to the new Ordinal by way of condemnation, it is not true in fact.

According to the present Bishop of Rome, nothing would have been accomplished by a declaration which did not condemn the Edwardine Ordinal. Herein lies the very proof that Paul did not condemn it. All that is needed to prove this is to compare the terms of the two decisions—the one by Paul, the other by Leo.

Paul renders a decision as to what men are to be considered as not ordained.

Leo decides against the rite itself.

Paul IV.

"We declare that only those Bishops and Archbishops who were not ordained and consecrated in the form of the Church cannot be said to have been validly and lawfully ordained."

Leo XIII.

"We pronounce and declare that ordinations carried out according to the Anglican rite have been, and are, absolutely null and utterly void."

Further, this very Brief at the outset declares that it is the Pope's desire "that all ecclesiastical persons may be

able to minister with pure heart and sound conscience in the orders which they have received."

It then deals, as we have seen, with those who have obtained grants and dispensations relating to their orders and benefices in the same way as Julius III. did, with a slight change of phrase. Julius had "*temere et de facto*," Paul has "*nulliter et de facto*." Paul approves and confirms all such dispensations.

The Brief then deals just as Julius did with those who had received no orders, and says that these men must receive orders from their ordinaries, referring here to men who had received no Episcopal ordination, followers of John à Lasco and the like. And lastly the Brief deals with the doubt as to what Bishops were to be considered as duly and rightly consecrated.

The previous documents had classed all the English Bishops alike as schismatics, heretics, and usurpers of the true or valid Bishops.

Suppose one of the Bishops who had been consecrated in the time of Henry VIII., but after that king's rupture with Rome, and who had conformed under Edward VI., and was now conforming under Mary, went to Cardinal Pole and asked him, "Am I a Bishop *recte et rite*?" What could Pole answer him?

According to the documents of Julius and Paul, he was a schismatic, a heretic, and a usurper of true Bishops, and if Paul refused to consider Henry VIII. and Edward VI. as kings, how much more was such a man a pretended Bishop, one who had been consecrated evilly or not at all, *nunquam aut male*?

Due force has not been given in this controversy to the fact that, from the Papal point of view, there were on Mary's accession no Bishops at all in England. Because not only had elections not been confirmed at Rome, and Rome had given no sanction for the consecrations; but beyond and above all this even such Bishops as had been consecrated after confirmation by Rome, that is, before the rupture, were all involved in the common ruin, since they had all been excommunicated! Every Bishop on Mary's accession had been excommunicated either for passive or active participation in the quarrel with Rome.

An excommunicated Bishop certainly could not be considered a Bishop *rite et recte*.

The more the matter was looked into, the more difficult did it become for Pole to decide such a question on behalf of any individual Bishop.

The Provision of Paul in his Bull *Præclara Carissimi* (Document D) had really made it harder to decide such a question. Paul in his Brief decides the question, but in a noteworthy manner, not affirmatively, but negatively. He does not say, which would have been the simpler way, "All are to be considered Bishops who have been ordained and consecrated according to the form of the Church." But he says only those are not Bishops who were not ordained and consecrated in the form of the Church. He purposely avoids using the term hitherto used in these documents, "not according to the accustomed form of the Church"—which we agree with Leo in maintaining specially referred to the Edwardine form—but he uses the general term, "form of the Church."

This was evidently deemed a happy solution of the matter in England, as we hear of no more doubts among the Marian Bishops. It also is in harmony with the previous documents, which had expressly declared that men who had been ordained "*minus rite*," and not according to accustomed forms, "*forma consueta*," were to be allowed to continue their ministrations at the altar, subject to a dispensation. And we have the authority and admission of Leo XIII. in affirming that by these terms were meant the men ordained according to the new Ordinal.

As to the concluding paragraph of Section 3, where it is maintained that Cardinal Pole and the Marian Bishops understood the Brief of Paul IV. as declaring the Ordinal of Edward VI. itself as invalid, it need only be said that history does not bear out that contention.

If the Brief of Paul IV. had at last reversed the decisions of Julius III. and of his Legate, then we should have heard of a new procedure in England.

But things went on just the same as before; there was no change. The Bishops consecrated under the old Ordinal, who had rightly seen that portions of the Bull of Julius included them as needing dispensations, and as being not *rite et recte*, duly and rightly, consecrated, were satisfied by this implicit declaration in their favour.

Paul thus quiets their scruples as to their rejection of Papal allegiance; their oaths taken to Henry and Edward, their past lack of confirmation by his predecessors, their usurpations of sees of true Bishops, their incapacity to receive ordination or consecration as excommunicated persons, their ordination being thus *nunquam aut male*, not at

all or evilly, their ordination or consecration under a maimed rite, the accustomed form of the Church not being followed "*minus rite*," "*non servata forma ecclesiæ consueta*"; these and many other scruples Paul IV. allays by assuring them that their ordination is to be looked upon as giving them valid orders.

This is logical, natural, and wise. This is, moreover, what one would expect Rome to have done on the occasion.

Leo XIII. twists the declaration of Paul so as to make it apply to the Edwardine Ordinal by way of condemnation. How absurd! What comfort or quieting of their own scruples could it be to the Bishops ordained or promoted under Henry VIII. to be told that those ordained in the next reign were invalidly ordained? How could that affect their own standing?

After the whole of this Historical Review had been written, the following passage in the *Revue Anglo Romaine** was first noticed. It is from the pen of the Roman Catholic scholar, A. Boudinhon. It is here transcribed as accurately reflecting the conclusions reached after our own examination of the five Papal documents:

“ Mais de tout ce qui précède il est permis de conclure que tous les documents officiels émanés de Jules III., de Paul IV., et de Cardinal Pole sont beaucoup plus favorables que contraires à la valeur des ordres Anglicans : aucun n'en dénie expressément la valeur ; plusieurs la supposent clairement. Quand et pourquoi la pratique de la réordination absolue s'établit-elle ? Il serait intéressant de le rechercher de plus près. Constatons enfin que lors de la recon-

* July 25, 1896, p. 791.

ciliation de l'Église d'Angleterre sous la reine Marie, personne ne songe à incriminer les intentions hérétiques des rédacteurs de l'Ordinal, personne n'y cherche une cause de nullité."

The translation of which is: "But, from all that precedes, it is allowable to conclude that all the official documents issued by Julius III., and Paul IV., and Cardinal Pole are much more favourable than otherwise to the validity of the Anglican orders: not one expressly denies it, several clearly presuppose it. Why and wherefore did the custom of absolute reordination become established? It would be interesting to examine this further. Let us note, therefore, that at the time of the reconciliation of the Church of England, under Queen Mary, no one dreams of incriminating the heretical intentions of the framers of the Ordinal, no one seeks in them a cause for the nullity of the orders so conferred."

CHAPTER VII.

NATURE OF PAPAL POLICY ON MARY'S ACCESSION.

THE POPE MUST PROCEED CAUTIOUSLY;
HE MUST NOT WAGE OPEN WAR WITH
THOSE INNOVATIONS THAT HAD ARISEN
FROM THE PRESENT AND RECENT STATE
OF THINGS. THIS HAD AT ONCE BEEN
PERCEIVED BY JULIUS III.—*Ranke's Life
of Paul IV.**

IT WAS expedient, opportune and politic, now that Rome was triumphant, to be conciliatory, not to arouse antagonism among Islanders who had never been very submissive or amenable to dictation from Rome.

Mr. A. H. Hore, in his very valuable “History of the Church of England,” accurately sums up the situation as it was in the early part of Mary’s reign, declaring that

* Ranke’s “History of the Popes,” Vol. I., p. 237.

"Had she continued to follow Gardiner's advice, and had a moderate instead of a rash and cruel policy been pursued; had she abstained from persecution; had she listened to wiser counsellors than the Pope and the numerous Spaniards who held office in the court, it is probable that the work of the Reformation would have been undone, a lasting impression have been made, and the Church of England of the future have continued as Henry had left it. But just when England was being recovered to Rome the fires of Smithfield broke out, and so England was lost to Rome for ever" (p. 286).

Paul IV., on the first flush of his accession to power, may have been ready to ratify the conciliatory policy of his wiser predecessor, Julius III., but the restorer of the Inquisition was not the man to approve of concessions or of conciliation. He was a man incapable of moderation. He approved of, and promoted, the religious persecutions which Pole, with better judgment, had endeavoured to arrest. It is amusing to note that Cardinal Pole, that "angel of peace and love," and for whose conspicuous learning Leo XIII. vouches, was himself deemed too Lutheran in his tendencies, and was summoned by Paul to appear before the Inquisition and answer a charge of heresy. Mary, who, though a Papist, was also an Englishwoman and a Tudor, refused to allow Pole to leave her kingdom,* and so saved him.

Fierce, passionate, intolerant, choleric, Paul IV. was yet ardent to reform the Roman Church. He not only made the Cardinals preach, but actually preached himself!

Though he attempted to re-establish the tax of "Peter's

* Cf. Hore's "History of Church of England," p. 286.

Pence" in England, he also, in his Bull *Rescissio Alienationum*, annulled all alienation of Church property, without any exception, thus revoking the act of Julius III., who had acknowledged the right of actual possession. Cardinal Pole in fact was not allowed to land in England until he had given the amplest assurances that the Pope's Bull did not touch the question of restitution of Church property.

Bearing Paul's character in mind, the fact that he fulminated no anathema against the Edwardine Ordinal is certainly noteworthy.

Never was Pope less governed by motives of expediency than Paul IV.

It is with sincere thankfulness that we record the appearance of Mr. Walter Howard Frere's work, entitled the "Marian Reaction," in time for some of its conclusions to be incorporated in our examination. If only Leo XIII. would copy the example of the Church of England and depute some members of his communion to truthfully edit all the documents bearing on the subject of the Edwardine Ordinal which lie hidden in the recesses of the Vatican, he would prove the sincerity of his desire to search out the truth, even if scholars differed from his logic.

The *Marian Reaction* is Mr. Frere's report to The Church Historical Society on his examination of the Episcopal registers of the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary. In its Appendix, among other valuable matter, will be found a list of names of all persons ordained during Queen Mary's reign, with the date of ordination and Bishop ordaining—a list, as will be readily seen, most valuable to our present

purpose. The following are a few of the results obtained by Mr. Frere's laborious inquiries.

Here is an unexpected tribute to the moral value of the new Ordinal:

"It is evident that previous to the publication of the English Ordinal there had been in many dioceses great carelessness as to the record of ordinations, and as to the ordinations themselves, with the Latin Pontifical, and though the new Ordinal brought with it great improvement in both respects in the diocese of London, this improvement was not general." *

"Here (in London), at any rate, the English Ordinal evidently brought with it a higher sense of the dignity of Holy Orders, and greater care in the examination and choice of candidates." †

Taking all the ordinations under the new Ordinal before Mary's accession, the total arrived at is six Bishops and one hundred and ten other clergy.*

The six Bishops were Ponet, consecrated June 29, 1550; Hooper, March 8, 1550 or 1551; Coverdale and Scory, August 30, 1551; Taylor, June 26, 1552, and Harley, May 26, 1553.

Ponet and Coverdale went into exile, Taylor and Harley were imprisoned, and died within the year.

Hooper was deprived in March, 1553-54, on the ground of his marriage *et alia merita*, and his having been appointed by letters patent. He was excommunicated for heresy, degraded, and burnt.

He was treated throughout as a priest and not as a

* Page 90.

† Page 94.

Bishop, but nothing can be deduced from this, since Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, was also so treated, though he had been consecrated under the old Ordinal.

Scory was deprived for being a married man, but after penance was restored, and welcomed back to his "pastoral office" by Bishop Bonner, without reconsecration, so far as is recorded. "Pastoral office," we know, was and is the technical name for the exercise of the office of a Bishop.

In the case of the Bishops we have then no clear condemnation of the Edwardine Ordinal in the one case of degradation, while we have on the other hand a restitution to office without condemnation of his orders in the one case of restoration.

The weight of evidence is thus so far strongly in favour of the validity of Edwardine orders.

Before leaving the question of the Edwardine Bishops under Mary, let this be noted in regard to Scory.

Scory was one of the consecrators of Matthew Parker on December 17, 1559, in Queen Elizabeth's reign. This consecration is at last admitted by Romanists. Now, Scory is described by the writer of the recent articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica* * as having been consecrated under the Edwardine Ordinal, an Ordinal claimed not to have sufficient "form and intention." If Scory's own ordination be objected to in 1559, then it is an admission that during Mary's reign he was not reconsecrated, and a proof that his restoration by Bonner was after the manner of reconciliation and nothing further, as we have above maintained.

* Page 105.

If Scory, on the other hand, was re consecrated in Mary's reign, though all proof of such re consecration has been lost, then the objection to his lack of Roman orders as a consecrator of Parker in the next reign falls to the ground.

The adversary is thus placed in a dilemma whichever view he champions.

Now, as to the hundred and ten other clergy. Seventy-one seem to have gone no further than the diaconate, thirty-two became priests, and six were ordained priests, of whose diaconate nothing is known. Of one the record has not been traced.

As to the subsequent history of these men: Many went into exile. Many resigned, some perhaps voluntarily, but most through pressure. Two, Gresham and Atwood, were deprived for being married. Two, Nowell and Ashton, were deprived for not having proceeded to priest's orders in the first year of their incumbency. With regard to deprivation, Mr. Frere sums up:

"There is no shadow of a hint that invalidity of orders had anything to do with it. On the contrary, in the cases of Nowell and Ashton, the deacon's order conferred under the English Ordinal is clearly, if tacitly, recognized. Indeed, if the Edwardine orders had been regarded as an absolute disqualification, it would have been far simpler to get rid of the Edwardine clergy on that ground rather than on the ground of marriage. But all the evidence so far goes to show that they were not so regarded; on the contrary, the very fact that an Edwardine priest was deprived for marriage shows that so far his orders were recognized, otherwise he would have been deprived as a layman, and there

is no instance of any Edwardine clergy being so described at their deprivation; they are classed with the rest of the married clergy."*

As to actual reordinations, the registers show that there were fourteen, or, possibly, sixteen such cases. In most of these cases, it was not a mere supplying of deficiency in ritual, but a real reordination, thus implying disbelief in the Edwardine Ordinal. All but two of these reordinations took place between December, 1553, and May, 1554, that is, during the very commencement of Mary's reign, and the latest of them was six months before Pole's arrival in England.

As to the number of Edwardine clergy who were left in possession during the whole of Mary's reign, or till their death, and were not reordained, six such cases are given.

Several cases are adduced of Edwardine clergy who were instituted to benefices in Queen Mary's reign without any traces of their reordination being found.

Two things result from this investigation:

(1°) That when deprivations are examined, the question of Edwardine orders does not come up at all.

(2°) That when benefices or preferments are concerned, Edwardine orders do not necessarily disqualify.

With regard to the disqualification by marriage, it must be remembered that in an examination of an accused cleric the first interrogatory put was as to his orders, and then subsequently the one as to marriage. Now, if Edwardine orders were invalid, it would be useless to proceed with the next question, since the man would have been deprived for invalidity of orders upon his reply to the first interrogatory.

* Page 110.

With regard to deprivation for lack of orders. We find such cases, but they are those of persons who had received no orders at all.* In one case, the man is found fit and worthy, and is ordained. The clergy who were burnt, were burnt, not on the ground of their orders being invalid, *per se*, but because, among other reasons, they had given or received orders while the land was under an interdict, thereby incurring the heaviest penalties the Church could inflict. We must remember that the sentence of Paul III. did not affect Henry only, but that it placed the whole land under an interdict. All clergy were bidden to depart within five days, leaving only a few priests to baptize children and to administer only such "sacraments as are allowed to be administered in time of an interdict." No absolution was to be granted to any one except on the point of death, no masses or holy offices were to be celebrated in any place throughout the land, all churches were to be kept closed and barred. Every one, lay or cleric, high or low, was smitten "with the sword of anathema, malediction, and eternal damnation."†

Pole's five documents cannot be read apart from this interdict. It was by them that it was lifted off the kingdom, and that all were reconciled and restored to the unity of the Church, "and to the communion of all the sacraments."‡

* Cf. Bonner's Visitation Articles of 1554, Art. XI.: "Whether there be dwelling within any your parishes, any priest, *foreigner, stranger*, or other, who, not presented to the Bishop of the diocese, or his officers, examined and admitted by some one of them, doth take upon him to serve any cure, or to minister any sacraments or sacramentals within the said parish."—*Cardwell's Annals*, Vol. I., p. 127.

† See *Excommunication* in the Appendix.

‡ See *form of absolution concerning this reconciliation* given in the Appendix.

The sum of these investigations may, in so far as they regard our argument, be stated thus. We may assume that many of the Edwardine clergy who remained to face the storm of the reaction were not men of very strong views. Some, accordingly, in the first moment of panic, presented themselves for reordination, and were reordained. When Pole came with his message of peace and conciliation, the reordinations ceased. Those who had not offered themselves for reordination were not interfered with, but allowed to keep their benefices and cures of souls. Finally, the men who were found to have received no orders at all were deprived, or, if found worthy, ordained, as Julius had directed.

We then find, from the actual history of what was done, that our interpretation of Pole's policy was correct.

In the course of a few years all would be well.

It must be remembered that we are now-a-days apt to view things from the standpoint of the nineteenth century, instead of from that of the sixteenth. On Mary's accession, England was not the formidable power she is now. The Queen's marriage really made England, in the eyes of Rome, a vassalage of Spain, that great power so loyal to the Holy See. Children might be born which would continue the succession. A little time, a little patience would therefore completely heal the schism. To declare the Edwardine Ordinal invalid would be to irritate the rank and file of the clergy needlessly. All this is evident from a politician's point of view.

Afterwards, when Elizabeth had ascended the throne, and the mighty Armada had been defeated and dispersed, and England stepped forth to the first rank of nations, then, and not till then, did the Papists lament that the Edwardine Ordinal had not been explicitly condemned.

CHAPTER VIII.

ROME AND ELIZABETH.

HEYLIN AND BURNET ARE POSITIVE THAT PARPALIA (THE PAPAL NUNCIO) HAD IN COMMISSION TO ASSURE THE QUEEN THAT HIS HOLINESS WOULD CONFIRM THE COMMON PRAYER BOOK, ALLOW OF COMMUNION IN BOTH KINDS, AND DECLARE HER LEGITIMACY IN CASE SHE SHOULD RELAX AS TO OTHER PRETENSIONS.—*Dodd's History*.*

BEFORE passing on to the consideration of Section 4, it may be well to see what contemporary opinion was on the subject of Anglican orders.

“The continuator of Sanders in the Ingoldstadt Edition of 1588 expressly laments that *no* inquiry into the validity of Edwardine ordinations was made.”

In 1560 the occupant of the Papal See was Pius IV., a

* Vol. II., p. 147.

man the very opposite of Paul IV., and who was never weary of repeating that it was through the Marian persecutions that England had been lost to the Papal See.

"England, that we might have retained with perfect ease had Cardinal Pole been supported in his measures." *

Accordingly Pius IV. repeated the very same proceedings of his predecessor, Julius III.; he sent his Legate, Parpalia, as far as Flanders, just as Julius had sent Pole, with instructions to negotiate from there as to his reception in England, and in addition addressed a civil letter to the Queen.†

The Queen and her council, after due consideration, refused to allow a Papal Legate to land in England, consequently Parpalia never got farther than Calais.

The recent discovery of documents proves that Pius IV. was willing to confirm the Book of Common Prayer, including the Ordinal, of course, if only the new Queen would recognize the Papal supremacy. Heylin and Burnet were therefore right in their positive assertions to that effect. Such a course is indeed in thorough harmony with the character of Pius IV., who was a man of an amiable, genial and conciliatory temper. As Pole had been instructed as to his course of action in England, by Julius, so we may be sure that Parpalia had likewise his secret instructions from Pius. As Pole had been chosen because he was known to be a *persona grata* to the Queen and her nobles, so for the same reason was Parpalia selected.

No student of diplomacy would for a moment expect that

* Ranke, Vol. I., p. 248.

† Given as Appendix xlvi., p. cccxii., Vol. II., Dodd.

such concessions as Pius IV. was ready to grant would be embodied in any formal document at first. It would be sufficient to send a man of tact, and leave it to him to make the best terms he could. It would only be after negotiations had sufficiently advanced to enable a judgment to be formed as to the concessions to be ultimately granted, that any formal public document would be signed. This is the constant practice in all diplomatic undertakings, and would certainly be followed in the present delicate mission. There is no doubt that if the Vatican authorities were in earnest these secret or private instructions of Pius IV. to Parpalia could even now be found and published.

Pius was bent on "reconciling" England, just as Julius had done; and was not discouraged at his first rebuff.

The question as to holding a general council gave him an opportunity of addressing the Queen again without loss of dignity to himself. He availed himself of it, and, accordingly, "renewed his attempt to gain the Queen, gave her an invitation, with other foreign Protestant princes, to the Council of Trent, and dispatched Abbot Martinengo into England, with letters of very smooth contents. Amongst other things, he acquainted her, that if she would please to send either Bishops or Ambassadors to the council, he did not question giving them such satisfaction as might open the way to a further accommodation."*

A consultation was held to consider whether the Abbot should be allowed to land in England. The notes of this consultation are given by Dodd.† It was decided that he

* Dodd, Vol. II., p. 147. Ranke, Vol. I., 248.

† Appendix xlviii., Vol. II.

should not be allowed to land, for reasons there set forth in full. It is also, however, stated that while the Queen is ready, and that nothing would please her better than to send delegates to a good general council, yet she will pay no heed to a council summoned by the Pope alone, or to one whose delegates "be already sworn to the maintenance of the Pope's authority." Further, that as "other Christian princes" have been invited to give their opinions concerning the holding of the council before appointing it, but that she is notified of it after the date and place for holding it have been appointed, that she, being a "prince of Christendom," and "having interest in the weal thereof," and "one of the principal monarchs thereof," certainly would not accept such an invitation.

The plain meaning of all which is that though Pius IV. was ready enough to invite and welcome the Bishops of England, the Queen first insisted that the general council should be a free one, and, secondly, that she should be invited as one of the princes of Christendom, that is, as one of the princes belonging to the Holy Catholic Church, and not as a Protestant prince.

The statement that Pius IV. had offered to acknowledge the Book of Common Prayer, provided the Queen would accept it at his hands, has until lately rested upon rather insecure foundation. A letter from Walsingham has, however, been found among the State papers, which places this offer beyond dispute. It is a letter from Walsingham to Burleigh, dated June 21, 1571, at Louviers, and refers to a conversation held with Catherine de Medicis relative to the proposed marriage of her son, the

Duke of Anjou, to Elizabeth, and to his scruples on religious matters.

"I shewed her that sudden change was not required (the same being ever referred to God, whose office it is to change hearts), but only the forebearing of his mass and to content himself with the form of our prayers, whereof I shewed her I had delivered a copy unto Mons. de Foix,' which form of prayers, Madam,' quoth I, 'the Pope, as I am informed, would have by councell confirmed as Catholic, so the Q., my mistress, would have acknowledged the same as received from him.'"

In the margin opposite the last thirteen words is the following note:

"An offer made by ye C(ardinal) of Loreyne, as Sr. N. Throgmorton shewed me."*

The Cardinal of Loreyne was the Papal Legate in France.

We have already referred to the testimony (p. 45) of Bishop O'Harte of Achonry at the Council of Trent, that, though the English Bishops considered themselves true Bishops, yet they could not be considered so, because they had not been approved by the Roman Pontiff. Not a word is said of their having been invalidly consecrated, but the same ground is taken against them as Julius III. took against the Henrician Bishops who had been consecrated under the old Ordinal, but not confirmed at Rome, that they were not "*veri*," or true Bishops.

The excommunication of Elizabeth is, in comparison with that issued against her father, a remarkably mild and polite document. The short section devoted to the Anathema is

* Denny, p. 210.

in marked contrast with the many and lengthy corresponding sections in the Damnation of Henry VIII. The two documents are given in the Appendix, and are worth careful perusal. It is noteworthy that while every possible kind of ecclesiastic, from monk to archbishop, religious or secular, is smitten with the sword of damnation in the Bull against Henry VIII., yet there is not a single word in the Anathema itself in the Bull of Pius IV. against the Elizabethan Bishops and clergy. This document seems to have been carefully worded with the purpose of only condemning Elizabeth's usurpation of power, and that all would be well if she would but acknowledge receiving her kingdom at the hands of the Pope.

CHAPTER IX.

CHURCH AND STATE.

I DO NOT FIND THAT MY PREDECESSORS
EVER PROFESSED HOMAGE TO YOURS.—
William the Conqueror to Hildebrand.

SINCE the issue of *Apostolice Curæ* Roman writers have declared that the Bull *Præclara Carissimi*, of Paul IV., settled everything, and that it was an absolute verdict against the Edwardine Ordinal. Mr. Barnes, the Roman Catholic author, says:

“Indeed, it is not a little remarkable how many puzzling questions in the history of the controversy are set at rest by this rediscovery of the Bull *Præclara Carissimi* and the proof which it affords of the fact of the condemnation of the Edwardine Ordinal by the Holy See. There could be no doubt whatever in the minds of any of the Anglican clergy of the time of Elizabeth as to what Rome thought of their orders. They had been ordained, as they knew,

according to a rite which had been already adjudged null and void. Hence we find no sort of claim made by the earliest controversialists on the Protestant side to the possession of valid orders. For five and twenty years, without a single dissentient voice, they are content to rank as civil servants, deriving all their authority from the Crown, and not from God, and laying no claim to any power derived from the fact of Apostolical succession." *

If the Bull of Paul IV. was so positive in its settlement of the controversy which has been going on for so long, why did not the Romans produce it before? It is one of their own documents. There could have been no difficulty on the part of any Pope in producing it. That it did not condemn the Anglican rite is self-evident, or it would have been produced by Rome long ago. We have seen that Pole did not consider it as condemnatory. Paul IV. himself did not consider it as final, since he issued his Brief in explanation of it.

What the Anglican clergy in Elizabeth's time thought of their own position in the matter and of Rome's opinion of it, is just what Pius IV. and Cardinal Lorraine thought—that they were duly ordained, but lacked Papal confirmation.

As for the base slander that the Anglican clergy for twenty-five years considered themselves civil servants of the Crown, we presume the twenty-five years are meant to be those immediately succeeding the issue of the Bull on June 20, 1555—that is, till June, 1580. There is nothing to that effect in the Prayer Book or Ordinal. The allusion to

* Page 11.

deriving power from the Crown must be, we suppose, to the stale charge that the English sovereigns were styled "Head of the Church." Now, as it happens, the title Supreme Head of the Church was conferred on Henry VIII., was used by Mary, but repudiated by Elizabeth, who declared that it was a title no mortal could assume, since it belonged to Christ alone.*

The oath touching the ruler's sovereignty, ordered to be administered to the candidates under the Elizabethan Ordinal, varies very considerably from that in the Edwardine Ordinal; the latter was headed, "the oath of the king's supremacy," and contained the clause, "and I from henceforth will accept, repute, and take the king's majesty to be the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England."

And though, if the whole oath be read, it will be found that this title is not meant to derogate from Episcopal authority or rule, but is intended to cut at the root of the claims of the Bishops of Rome to exercise temporal sovereignty in England, yet it may be conceded that such a phrase as "supreme head" is not scripturally or theologically accurate. Consequently, though Mary did not cavil at employing it, the oath in the Elizabethan Ordinal was changed first as to the title to "the oath of the Queen's sovereignty," and next as to the clause, "I do utterly testify and declare in my conscience that the Queen's highness is the only supreme governour of this realm . . . as

* Cf. Jewel's letter to Bullinger, Vol. VIII., p. 124: *Regina non vult appellari aut scribi: Caput Ecclesiae Anglicanae; graviter enim respondit, illam dignitatem soli attributam esse Christo, nemini autem mortalium convenire.*

well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal."

"Concerning the title of *supreme head of the Church* we need not to search Scriptures to excuse it. For, first, we devised it not; second, we use it not; third, our princes at present claim it not." *

So said Jewel in 1567 in replying to the same accusation which his Roman accuser, Harding, brought against him.

Queen Mary styled herself "'Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth Supreme Head of the Churches of England and Ireland.' In this capacity she appointed new Bishops, she reinstated Dowdall, who had been appointed by Henry VIII. and had never been confirmed by the Holy See; she refused to allow the Pope to appoint by proviso." †

"Civil servants of the Crown," forsooth! The Anglican clergy have never been that—either *de jure* or *de facto*.

The Papal clergy in France have been and are that still, and not for "twenty-five years," but for nigh four times that period, both *de jure et de facto*. Their stipends are voted on and paid, not by the Crown, for which there might be some theoretical excuse, on the plea of the sovereign being the Lord's anointed, but by the Parliament, annually, just like the wages of any postman or policeman.

Neither the Church nor the State of England has ever represented herself as deriving authority in religious matters from the Crown, as is the case in France, and as is witnessed

* Jewel, Vol. VI., 339.

† Olden's "History of Church of Ireland," p. 320.

to by a medal of Louis XIV. A suppliant figure, variously interpreted as the Church or nation, kneels to receive restitution of her religion at the hands of the king, who, crowned, stands alone on the very steps of the altar, its candles alight.*

The Anglican Bishops never surrendered to Crown or State their right to ordain whom, when, or as many as they pleased.

The Bishops in France have done all this. For a long period the French Bishops were not able to ordain without leave of the State, and during the whole of the first Napoleon's reign they were not permitted to ordain more than six or seven priests for each diocese annually.†

During the long and chequered career of the Church of England she has to blush for no such scene as that when the Archbishop of Paris attended the National Convention with his vicars and priests, in full vestments, laid down his mitre, his crozier, his ring, before the Assembly, declaring that Bishops existed by will of the people. ‡

The election and confirmation of Bishops in England are not Scriptural if we take the election and confirmation of St. Matthias as the example. What Church in Christendom now follows the Scriptural method, pure and simple? In the past we are not aware of any Church outside of Spain electing its Bishops by lot, and that custom appears to have been only local even in that country, and to have gradually died out before the ninth century. The English method may not be theoretically perfect, but it is far

* See medal, frontispiece, Baird's "Huguenots," Vol. II.

† "Church of France," Travers Smith, p. 454.

‡ Baird's "History of Huguenots," Vol. II., p. 560.

more so than the Roman mode. Possibly the methods of the American and Colonial Churches may be the most perfect theoretically, and yet even they afford scope for intrigue.

It is said that the State interferes unduly in the confirmation and election of Bishops in the Church of England. Possibly it has the opportunity to do so, though certainly not more so than the State does in other European countries, and certainly no more, if as much, as it did in pre-reformation times.

In Saxon times all important sees were filled by nomination of the king in Witenegamot. William the Conqueror himself appointed Lanfranc. And then up to 1093 the King of England appointed the Bishops, and that in the simplest manner. He put a crozier in their hands, and thus by that *traditio* the man became the Bishop-elect. Anselm himself was so appointed, but on his return from Rome he came back full of ultra-montane ideas of the sovereignty of the Papal See. The custom now prevailing in England was then initiated as a compromise. The sovereign, nevertheless, always controlled the elections.

The Church of England, however, has sanctioned no such outrage as the Church in France did, when she permitted the First Consul and his successors to nominate her Bishops, with the simple provision that the men should not belong to the Protestant party! When, accordingly, an avowed infidel was nominated Bishop, the Church raised no protest against his consecration, and he was consecrated as a matter of course.

Jewel, throughout the "Apology," and his Defence of

it, reiterates that the reformed clergy derive their power of ministering in sacred things from God; that the sovereign has no right to intrude into the room of Bishops* or priests, "to preach, or to minister sacraments or to bind, or to loose, but only to discharge their own offices," as godly kings have ever done; that he was consecrated and confirmed by three Bishops,† and, concluding his argument on succession, he wearily sums up, "To be short, we succeed the Bishops that have been before our days. We are elected, consecrated, confirmed and admitted as they were."‡

He elsewhere thus rests the whole contention with Rome on the question of orders:

"The matter that lieth between us is this: 'Whether through the whole Church of Christ no man may be allowed for a Bishop without the confirmation of the Pope.' "§

As Jewel says, so say we. The controversy has not shifted one bit during the last three hundred years. Let it be noted that Jewel's challenge to Rome in his sermon was in 1559, that the "Apology" appeared in 1562, and that the close of the controversy was in 1569. And yet Mr. Barnes selects the period of 1555 to 1580 for his accusations!

Certainly the Bull of 1555 did not settle anything very definite, nor does Leo XIII. himself think it did, else he would not have given us another decree by one of his predecessors in the fourth section.

* Vol. VI., p. 310, etc.

† Vol. IV., p. 446.

‡ Vol. IV., p. 464.

§ Vol. IV., p. 446.

On the general question of Church and State, it may be well to say somewhat more.

A great cloud of words has been raised, hiding out of sight the contention between Rome and England on this question. The difference between the two parties is capable of being stated in a very simple form.

Is it not simply this, "What is the source of authority?"

Once stated in this form, it is seen that the supremacy of the Crown is really not a side issue, but is part of the main and vital issue, not between Rome and England, but between Rome and Christendom. The Roman contention is that her Bishops are neither servants nor fathers to Christians, but Lord Popes. That all authority, spiritual and temporal, flows from the man who has been elected, not by the Bishops in communion with the Church of Rome, but by the Court of Rome, the faithful laity having no voice directly or indirectly in the election.

That Rome claims, on behalf of this person chosen by the Cardinals, spiritual authority, is evident, since no Bishop can be consecrated without his formal consent, and without a formal, iron-clad oath of obedience to him. All spiritual authority proceeding from such Bishops, it naturally follows that as authority trickles down to the babe in Christ, it must come from the fountain source, which is the Lord Pope. Consequently, Romans are forced logically to declare:

"The Church is the congregation of all those who profess the faith of Christ, partake of the same Sacraments, and are governed by their lawful pastors under one Visible Head."*

* "Catechism of Christian Doctrine," enjoined by order of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, p. 20.

And, further, that outside of that limited Church there is no salvation; and that she alone is the "only saving Church."

That she "alone was established by Christ," and that by the words in the Creed, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," we are to "believe that Jesus Christ has established an infallible Church, which we must all hear and obey if we wish to save our souls, and that this Church is no other than the Roman Catholic Church."*

That the Lord Pope is the source of all spiritual power in this world.

That the Lord Pope is also the source of all spiritual power in the next world; for to him alone belongs the power over souls in Purgatory.

"Q. Can indulgences be applied also to souls in Purgatory?

"A. Yes; all those which the Pope has declared to be applicable to them."†

As the Lord Pope's power has never been limited, it follows that if he can benefit a soul in Purgatory for a few days or countless years, he can likewise take it out of Purgatory, and place it in Heaven.

This, accordingly, Lord Popes have done. In cases of certain favoured few, they have declared that they will be taken out of Purgatory into Heaven on the Saturday following their death. Consequently, the most convenient time for such persons to die is a few minutes to midnight on Friday.

* De Harbe's "Large Catechism," p. 40.

† *Ibid.* p. 113.

Extending their power from earth to Purgatory, the Lord Popes have annexed Heaven. For, to such as render them personal services, they have the power of granting a greater degree of happiness in Heaven.

Over Hell, as the place of torment, the Lord Popes have assumed no power, as far as we are aware.

That the Lord Pope has power over the bodies of men—over their minds, wills, intellects, possessions, and their relationships to family and state is a much smaller claim.

That the Lord Pope has power over the bodies of men, is evident from the power of granting indulgences, which are remissions of temporal punishments for sins. Millions upon millions of persons have in the past been placed under interdicts by the Lord Popes. Paul III., in his excommunication of Henry VIII., decreed that all persons belonging by birth or residence to his kingdom "were to be made the slaves of those that seized them."* Whole nations have been given into slavery. All Mohammedans and heathen in Western Africa have been given into perpetual slavery to the King of Portugal. And similarly not only was the whole continent of America and all its possessions given to the Kings of Spain, but all its inhabitants.

Persons who appeal from the Pope to a General Council may be burnt alive. Banishment, imprisonment, torture can fall on any one whom the Lord Pope wishes to punish.

That the Lord Pope has power over the wills and intellects of men is evident, since they must believe what he tells them. The infallibility of one means the surrender of intellect and will of all others. The Lord Pope has the

* See *Excommunication* in the Appendix.

power to absolve any person from any oath taken by him. That the Lord Pope has power over the possessions of all, is a necessary corollary from his power over their bodies.

That the Lord Popes have power over the family relationships of men is manifest, since they have declared it a Christian duty to take children by force from parents pronounced by Rome to be heretics; and since they have repeatedly held that members of a family were bound to deliver to torture and death their relatives whom they might suspect of heresy, be they father or mother, son or daughter, husband or wife.

That the Lord Pope has power over all in their relations to the State is evident from the countless decrees on that subject, bulls, interdicts, damnations and excommunications. Repeatedly have the Lord Popes absolved subjects from their oaths to their civil rulers, and have transferred whole nations from the rule of a sovereign who opposed them, to that of one who promised them money or aid.

Not only have the Lord Popes constantly exercised their power in detail over all temporal and spiritual matters, but they have asserted it in the most wholesale manner, as when Paul IV., Sixtus V., Boniface VIII. and others issued Bulls claiming plenary power over all nations, powers, kingdoms, principalities and sovereignties.

To sum up in the words of a Pope himself—"Unto the Creator's Vicar every creature is subject."*

The Roman view is therefore correctly stated as being that,

* See Jewel, Vol. VI., p. 119.

The Lord Pope is the source of all authority, civil or spiritual.

The Anglican view is that,

The source of all spiritual authority is in the Bishops.

The source of all civil authority is the sovereign or ruler, or supreme magistrate of a nation.

The source of civil authority comes not from the spiritual.

The source of spiritual authority flows not from the civil.

Both authorities, spiritual and civil, have as their field this world and this life only.

Christ is the Head of all authority, spiritual and civil.

From Christ, the King of kings, there flows to all rulers in whatsoever nation they exercise their lawful rule, their authority.

From Christ, the Bishop and Pastor of souls, there flows all power in spiritual matters to His Bishops in His Universal Church in whatever jurisdiction they exercise their lawful rule.

The divine right of kings has hardly been fairly explained by historians. It was a protest against the usurpation of Rome to rule as a temporal sovereign by divine right. The sovereign maintained that he had that divine right, independent and irrespective of the Lord Pope. No doubt the divine right of kings was pushed to foolish extremes, and made to cover the divine right to tyrannize, but, in its legitimate sense, it is a true and healthy principle. It is the scriptural principle. Correctly taught, it ennobles the office of the ruler, and gives him and it dignity in the eyes of the ruled. An Anglican Father thus states the Christian position as against that of Rome, on this question.

"For the Kings and Queens of England neither do nor have power to do any ministerial act, or act of sacred order, as to preach, administer sacraments and the like; but that power and authority which we ascribe unto them is that they may, by their princely right, take notice of matters of religion, and the exercise of it in their kingdoms; that they may, and in duty stand bound to see that the true religion be professed, and God rightly worshipped; that God hath given them the sword to punish all offenders against the first or second table; yea, though they be priests or Bishops; that neither the persons nor the goods of Churchmen are exempted from their power; that they hold their crowns immediately from God, and not from the Romish anti-christ; that it was the Lucifer-like pride of anti-christ which appeared in times past in the Popes, when they shamed not to say that the Kings of England were their villeins, vassals and slaves." *

To sum up, the Anglican position is that—

First. A Bishop of the Catholic Church needs no confirmation from the Lord Pope to validate his spiritual powers or to give him his specific jurisdiction.

Second. A ruler of a nation needs no confirmation from the Lord Pope to validate his acts, or to give him lawful jurisdiction.

Consequently, Bishop and ruler having valid authority and jurisdiction, he who questions their authority and jurisdiction is a rebel *de jure*, and he who defies their authority and jurisdiction is a rebel *de facto*, and further, he who usurps the authority of either is a tyrant.

*Richard Field, *Of the Church*, Vol. I., p. 278.

CHAPTER X.

INVARIABLE PRACTICE OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

THE ROMAN CHURCH IS THE CHURCH OF INNOVATIONS.—*Answer of the Great Church of Constantinople to Leo XIII.**

APOSTOLICÆ CURÆ.

§ 4.—INVARIABLE PRACTICE OF THE HOLY SEE.

42 *The authority of Julius III. and of Paul IV., which we have quoted, clearly shows the origin of that practice which has been observed without interruption for more than three centuries, that Ordinations conferred according to the Edwardine rite should be considered null and void. This practice is fully proved by the numerous cases of absolute reordination according to the Catholic rite even in Rome. In the observance of this practice we have a proof directly affecting the matter in hand. For if, by any chance, doubt should remain as to the true sense in which these Pontifical docu-*

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* Page 53.

ments are to be understood, the principle holds good that "Custom
46 is the best interpreter of law." Since in the Church it has
ever been a constant and established rule that it is sacrilegious to
repeat the Sacrament of Order, it never could have come to pass that
the Apostolic See should have silently acquiesced in and tolerated
47 such a custom. But not only did the Apostolic See tolerate this
practice, but approved and sanctioned it as often as any particular
48 case arose which called for its judgment in the matter. We ad-
duce two facts of this kind out of many which have from time to
49 time been submitted to the Supreme Council of the Holy Office. The
first was (in 1684) of a certain French Calvinist, and the other
(in 1704) of John Clement Gordon; both of whom had received
50 their Orders according to the Edwardine ritual. In the first case,
after a searching investigation, the consultors, not a few in number,
gave in writing their answers—or, as they call it, their vota—and
the rest unanimously agreed with their conclusion, "for the invalidity
of the Ordination," and only on account of reasons of op-
portuneness did the Cardinals deem it well to answer by a "dilata"
51 [viz., not to formulate the conclusion at the moment]. The same
documents were called into use and considered again in the examina-
tion of the second case, and additional written statements of opin-
ion were also obtained from consultors, and the most eminent doc-
tors of the Sorbonne and of Douai were likewise asked for their
52 opinion. No safeguard, which wisdom and prudence could suggest
to insure the thorough sifting of the question, was neglected.

AT THE opening of the section we have an amusing statement :

"Since in the Church it has ever been a constant and es-
tablished rule that it is sacrilegious to repeat the Sacra-
ment of Orders, it never could have come to pass that the

Apostolic See should have silently acquiesced and tolerated such a custom."

One would think that Leo XIII. is addressing some simple-minded converts of Central Africa, ignorant of the past history of the See of Rome, a See pre-eminent for its guilt of sacrilege; a See whose only uniform and invariable practice has been to make good its claim to temporal power, and to magnify the second part of the old title, *Pontifex et Rex*. The only uniform and invariable practice of the Papal Court that history bears witness to has been, like that of most masterful sovereigns or corporations, to do what seemed good in its own eyes. No authority sought for entering upon a course; the defence of the course is left for afterwards. Sycophants and servitors can always be reckoned upon to find, invent, or forge reasons. If there were still obstinate persons who pressed for inconvenient reasons, then the court, like all absolute monarchs, could stand on its dignity and say, "Whatever is, is right." To follow the variable practice of the Court of Rome, tossed about as it has been by every wind and wave of doctrine, is beyond our province. For our purpose it is enough to deal with its practice in the matter of ordination and reordination.

Let us take only the sin of sacrilege as regards the services of the Church and Holy Orders.

The authors of translations of the Roman missal into the vernacular are declared by Alexander III. to be "sons of perdition." * The missal is now freely translated and used in France, Germany, England, and especially in France, under the imprimatur of Bishops and priests who are thereby not

* Quirinus, p. 652.

only "sons of perdition," but, if they doubt the decrees of a Pope, become doubly "sons of perdition."

Any one attending a service celebrated by a married priest commits sacrilege.* Therefore all Anglicans and Greeks are continually guilty of sacrilege, and so are all Romans who attend any such service, be it even a funeral service.

Touching ordination more particularly—

"It is the constant teaching of the Church that ordination received from a Bishop, quite irrespectively of his personal worthiness or unworthiness, is valid and indelible. Putting aside baptism, the whole security of the sacraments rests on this principle of faith, and reordination has always been opposed in the Church as a crime and a profanation of the sacraments. Only in Rome, during the devastation which the endless wars of Goths and Lombards inflicted on Central Italy, there was a collapse of all learning and theology, which disturbed and distorted the dogmatic tradition. Since the eighth century, the ordinations of certain Popes began to be annulled, and the Bishops and priests ordained by them were compelled to be reordained. This occurred first in 769, when Constantine II., who had got possession of the Papal chair by force of arms, and kept it for thirteen months, was blinded and deposed at a synod, and all his ordinations pronounced invalid.

"But the strongest case occurred at the end of the ninth century, after the death of Pope Formosus, when the repeated rejections of his ordinations threw the whole Ital-

* *Ibid.*, p. 650.

ian Church into the greatest confusion, and produced a general uncertainty as to whether there were any valid sacraments in Italy. Auxilius, who was a contemporary, said that through this universal rejection and repetition of orders ('ordinatio, exordinatio, et superordinatio') matters had come to such a pass in Rome, that for twenty years the Christian religion had been interrupted and extinguished in Italy. Popes and synods decided in glaring contradiction to one another, now for, now against, the validity of the ordinations, and it was self-evident that in Rome all sure knowledge on the doctrine of ordination was lost. At the end of his second work, Auxilius, speaking in the name of those numerous priests and Bishops whose ecclesiastical status was called in question by the decisions of Stephen VII. and Sergius III., demanded the strict investigation of a General Council, as the only authority capable of solving the complication introduced by the Popes.

"But the council never met, and the dogmatic uncertainty and confusion in Rome continued. In the middle of the eleventh century the great contest against simony, which was then thought equivalent to heresy, broke out, and the ordinations of a simoniacal Bishop were pronounced invalid. Leo IX. reordained a number of persons on this ground, as Peter Damiani relates. Gregory VII., at his fifth Roman Synod, made the invalidity of all simoniacal ordinations a rule, and the principle confirmed by Urban II., that a simoniacal Bishop can give nothing in ordination, because he has nothing, passed into the *Decretum of Gratian*."^{*}

* *Janus*, p. 42.

"And again, the increase of simony had given occasion to Popes, *e. g.*, Leo X., to annul a number of ordinations at a Roman synod, and either to solemnize or order regular re-ordinations. This was based on the double error of supposing that simony, or procuring ordination for money, was heresy, and that heresy made the ordination invalid. The mischief done by the Popes in this way was immeasurable, for there were but few priests and Bishops then throughout Italy altogether free from simony, so that millions of the laity became perplexed about the sacraments they had received from clergy said to be invalidly ordained, and hatred and feuds between the people and their pastors penetrated every village, nor was it easy to find any way out of this labyrinth of universal religious doubt and interruption or destruction of the succession. Nor was this all. The same confusion was imported into Germany, too, and the ordinations of those Bishops were declared to be invalid whom the Popes had excommunicated for their loyalty to the Emperor, Henry IV. Thus at the Synod of Quedlinburg in 1085, the Papal Legate, Otho, annulled the ordinations of the Bishops of Mayence, Augsburg, and Coire, although Peter Damiani had long since raised his voice against this capricious annulling of ordinations and reordaining. Otho, afterwards Pope Urban II., declared that even when there was no simony in the actual ordination, it was rendered invalid if performed by a simoniacal Bishop.

"At a Synod at Piacenza he annulled the ordinations of his rival, Archbishop Guibert, of Ravenna, celebrated after his excommunication by Gregory VII., and thereby gave public evidence of another gross error, that the validity of sacra-

ments is affected by Church censures. Even Innocent II. made a great synod, the second Council of Lateran, an accomplice in his error of declaring invalid the ordinations of 'schismatics,' *i. e.*, of the Episcopal adherents of Pope Anacletus, who had been elected by a majority of the Cardinals, but was then dead—an act of arbitrary caprice and notorious heresy, which cannot be excused, like earlier re-ordinations, by the horror professedly felt for simony. Hence it was the Roman Church itself which, notwithstanding the protests raised from time to time within its own bosom against the terrible disorder caused by these ordinations, was again and again falling into the same error, and disturbing the consciences and belief of the faithful in a way that in the ancient Church would have been found intolerable, and against which a remedy would soon have to be discovered."*

The remedy was the Reformation. On the doctrine of ordination Rome has fluctuated ever since the eighth century. She has never had any clear and well-defined principles. The present controversy shows that even now she has not yet acquired a firm grasp of this vital question.

Apart from the constant sacrilege of reordination, there looms up the grave question for Leo XIII. to answer on behalf of his clergy: How many of them are guilty of sacrilege? If they themselves are not guilty of having paid or received compensation in some fashion for their orders or benefices, yet those who ordained them have been guilty of such simony, and they themselves thus become guilty of sacrilege whenever they administer a sacrament.

* *Janus*, pp. 224-226.

And simony has been defined by Roman canonists as (1^o) *natural*, that is, when sacraments are sold (2^o) *positive*, when ecclesiastical benefices and dignities are sold.

According to Rome's own inerrant Pontiffs, there can be no security for any of its present orders, under the *Decretum of Gratian* and the rulings of the above-mentioned Popes. For we agree with Leo XIII. that no lapse of time can validate orders that were null in the beginning. The guilt of sacrilege must weigh heavy therefore on the conscience of Leo, as in his Apostolic charity he looks over his flock, fed by pastors whose orders his infallible predecessors have declared as *nulliter*, since "the simoniacal Bishop gave nothing in his ordination, because he had nothing."

That simony has reigned in the Roman Church no Roman writer has ever denied, so open and notorious was the sin. It was a constant reproach, which its devoted children like St. Bernard, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Brigitta tried ineffectually by boldness of rebuke to wipe away.

"Simony so reigneth in the Church of Rome as though indeed it were no sin," was the despairing cry of Durandus.

Neither must it be forgotten that a Bull issued *ex cathedra*, that of Paul IV., *Cum ex apostolatus officio*, has pronounced that

"When it is discovered that a Pope has at any previous time been heretically or schismatically minded, all his subsequent acts are null and void."

Seeing that Liberius, Honorius, Anastasius, John XII., Sylvester II., Benedict IX., Gregory VI., Gregory XII., John XXIII., Eugenius IV., and others have been declared heretics, it follows that all their orders and sacraments were

null, not only those which they gave after the discovery of their heresy, but all orders and sacraments given while they were heretically minded, which might be a period extending over many years in each case.

Since the issue of the infallibility dogma of Pius IX. it is impossible for any Roman to deny the truth of the Bull of Paul IV.; consequently it is impossible for orders dependent upon their succession from any of the forementioned Popes to be valid in the eyes of Leo, or of any Roman Catholic. *Ex nihilo, nihil fit.*

How trebly heavy must the burden of sacrilege lie on the heart of Leo XIII. as he looks over his Bishops and priests working throughout the world without any certain conviction of possessing orders which canonists of their own Church would pronounce valid, and therefore administering sacraments with hands that may be sacrilegious.

It is impossible, logically speaking, to take a weaker stand in an argument than to say, "You must be wrong, because if you were right, we should be wrong." Yet this is the very stand which Leo and his fellow co-religionists take. Hunter sums up his argument against the validity of Anglican orders, by the empty declaration, "We must conclude that either Rome believes Anglican orders to be certainly invalid, or that the Roman authorities have for centuries systematically countenanced a series of sacrileges." *

There is, as we have seen, no *a priori* impossibility, or even unlikelihood of Rome "for centuries systematically countenancing [and committing] a series of sacrileges," and so collapses another argument against the validity of Anglican orders.

* Vol. III., p. 387.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CASE OF A CERTAIN FRENCH CALVINIST.

LET NOT A BISHOP, A PRIEST, OR A DEACON CAST OFF HIS OWN WIFE UNDER PRETENCE OF PIETY.—*Apostolic Canon.**

IN THIS fourth section of his Bull, Leo advances two cases of reordination, one in 1684, the other in 1704. It is very remarkable that if the Papal argument had been as the present Bull maintains, no case of reordination is cited till 1684, one year before the death of Charles II. We may be quite certain that if there had been any previous reordinations they would have been eagerly advanced.

It is impossible to say anything definite concerning the case of 1684, as we do not know to whom the Bull alludes. It simply says "a certain French Calvinist," who

* Canon VI., Book VIII., *Apostolic Constitutions.*

had received his orders according to the Edwardine ritual.

The hereditary inability of Romanists to quote honestly makes one hesitate to accept the conclusions which Leo XIII. says were drawn from this case. It certainly is very suspicious that in so important a matter the name of this "French Calvinist" is not given, nor are the documents connected with the case thrown open to the public. The Bull declares that in this case, "on account of reasons of opportuneness, did the Cardinals deem it well not to formulate the conclusions at the moment." This frank declaration of expediency makes one suspect that the proceedings were not such as Leo XIII. claims they were. If it was not "opportune" to declare the Edwardine Ordinal invalid in 1684, there could not have been much certainty in the minds of the Romanists of its invalidity. One also asks one's self at what period in 1684 "this certain French Calvinist" was reordained; for early in February, 1685, Charles II. died, after having declared his allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church. Was it inopportune to publish abroad a declaration which should cast any slur on English orders, because the hopes of Rome ran high that the English Court would acknowledge the Papal supremacy, in which event all that would be necessary would be "to supply" what had been omitted, or "to reconcile" the clergy on their submission to Rome? In other words, to repeat the Marian procedure under Pole as Legate.

Was it inopportune because Charles II. had in 1662 married a Portuguese princess, who remained a Roman Catholic, and had in January, 1669, made a private confession of adherence to his wife's religion, and had in 1670 made a se-

cret treaty with France, in which it was left to him to choose the opportune moment to make that profession of faith public?

Was it inopportune because the heir to the crown, James, had in 1672, formally, though secretly, embraced the Roman religion, and had also in 1673 resigned the office of Lord High Admiral rather than comply with the provisions of the Test Act?

Was it inopportune because in 1683 Charles II. had won in his fight against Shaftesbury, because his brother James had been recalled, and it really seemed that Papal supremacy would be once more established in England and that without waiting for the accession of James?

The above reasons for the inopportuneness of issuing any pronouncement on Anglican orders in 1684 were written some weeks before the issue of the *Civiltà Cattolica* for November 21, 1896, reached us. They are confirmed by the note added to page 435 of that publication, and which we transcribe in the following summary of these inspired articles in so far as they relate to the Frenchman's case.

A little, but very little, additional light is thrown on this case by the Articles of Salvatore Brandi. A translation of such parts as affect this case and that of Gordon will be found in the Appendix.

In order, however, to get all the light we can on the case of the "Il giovane eretico calvinista," we here bring together the scattered comments on it.

The writer is dilating on the Gordon case, and says:

"The written documents and rules elsewhere collected for a similar reason, which is alluded to in the decree, are

the votes and acts of the same Congregation in the case, proposed to it the 24 July of the year 1684, by the Bishop of Fano, Apostolic Nuncio in Paris. The case concerned 'A young Calvinist heretic, who, having proceeded from France into England, was there, according to the use of that sect, ordained to the diaconate, and then to the priesthood, by the pseudo-Bishop of London. The young man having returned to France, and having embraced the Catholic religion, wished to marry.' He enquired if the orders received by him were valid, and therefore if they constituted an impediment to marriage."

"Even at that time a special commission was appointed. Mgr. Genetti, who was a member of it, thus writes of it to the Holy Office in his report of 15 April, 1704:

"*The question being of the very greatest consequence and frequently coming up in practice, various "Congregations" were then appointed, in which Mgr. Leyburn presided, and seven or eight of the most learned theologians from among the English clergy were present, among whom Mr. Gifford, made afterwards Bishop and Apostolic Vicar, Mr. Bettan, now tutor of the King of England, and other doctors of the Sorbonne and Douai, all men of the greatest learning."*"

"If in this case there was no final decision, it was not because their Eminences, the judges in the 'Suprema,' doubted the justice of the resolution given by the consultors, but because of an entirely different motive. This is attested to by the Acts of that time, and particularly by the vote of His Eminence, Cardinal Casanata, who made the motion."

"In the years 1684 and 1685 England was in a very agi-

tated condition just on account of the religious question, and their Eminences the Cardinals, adhering to the vote of the Cardinal who made the report, prudently determined to abstain then from an act which might have been able to create new difficulties for James II. while he was attempting to restore the Catholic religion in the kingdom." (This is the note referred to on p. 104, line 18 supra.)

"The original text of the resolution of the consultors is as follows:

"'Feria II., 13 August, 1685. The consultors, after the *Dubium* had been maturely discussed by an unanimous vote, replied for the invalidity of the aforesaid ordination. But whether it is expedient to proceed to this declaration in the present case they leave to the wisdom of the eminent prelates to decide.'"^{*}

"Let it be enough now to note on the faith of valuable documents that we are fortunate to have before us, that the so-called *Tavern Fable* was known and discredited at Rome as early as 1684-85, when, for the first time, the question of Anglican orders was submitted to the authoritative judgment of the Supreme Holy Roman Congregation of the Holy Office."[†]

"In the authentic Acts of this time it is expressly said that the unanimous sentence of the consulting theologians against the validity of these orders was pronounced without taking any account of the doubt regarding the *fact* of Parker's consecration, which was founded on historical testimony confused and complex enough. The same appears still

* Pages 38 and 39 of Pamphlet.

† Ibid, page 19.

more evident by the Acts of 1704, of which we shall speak in another article."*

"From the circumstance then that these *same Acts were again brought up and given due weight* in the case of Gordon, we can understand besides what were the motives on which were founded the Decree of Clement XI. First, is positively excluded from the number of these motives the fable relative to Parker's consecration. In fact in these Acts (from 1684-86, and of 1704) it is repeatedly asserted that 'in so grave a matter a resolution of such consequence cannot be supported on a fact disputed among Catholics and Protestants,' that 'the adequate decision must be derived not from the fact of Parker, which depended on a very confused historical narrative; . . . but from the defect of intention and of the words employed by the Anglican heretics in their Ordinal for the priesthood'; that 'the principal subject of discussion was the examination of the Edwardine form that remained in use for more than a hundred years, and of the same after it had been to a certain extent changed under Charles II. in 1662'; that the examination was made after due attention had been paid to the Oriental forms, and accordingly 'there were translated and studied the form of the prayers of the Armenians, Maronites, Syrians, Jacobites, and Nestorians, as well Catholic as heretical'; that particularly in 1704 'by two or three new votes the nullity of these ordinations was again proven, especially from insufficiency of form.'"†

"From the same Acts regarding the two cases examined

* Page 273 of the *Civiltà Cattolica* Vol. VIII., Quaderno 1113, but not reprinted in the Pamphlet.

† Page 40 of Pamphlet.

by the Holy Office in 1684-86 and in 1704 it is equally proved that there was also touched upon the question of the handing of the instruments, *traditio instrumentorum*, which has no place in the Anglican Ordinal. This was done not to prove an essential defect, but only to show ‘that if this *also* was wanting, there was wanting absolutely the determination of the words adopted in the *form*, there was wanting the designation of the *power* desired to be conferred.’ Besides, what theologian does not know that, even at that time, according to the jurisprudence of the Holy Office, such defect was not considered as a positive argument of nullity, but, as the Holy Father says in his Bull, ‘tunc præscriptum de more erat ut ordinatio *sub conditione* instauraretur.’”*

Let us sum up what we have been told about this French Calvinist.

He had been ordained prior to 1684 deacon and priest by the Bishop of London. He returns to France, and wishes to marry, but as the French law, since Hildebrand's time, had declared the marriage of a priest illegal, he desires to have an opinion passed as to whether his Anglican orders are a bar to marriage. He evidently does not attach much importance to his orders, since he has already renounced them, for such is the meaning conveyed by the term “having embraced the Catholic religion.” We should, therefore, not expect from him any defence of the Anglican Ordinal. On the contrary, it is natural to suppose that he would tend to make matters smooth for an adverse decision, so that he could legally marry the lady of his choice.

* This is a misquotation, as is shown on p. 128, *infra*.

The Bishop of Fano, the Papal Nuncio at Paris, brings the matter before the Inquisition on July 24, 1684. The consultors take a year to pass on the question, and vote unanimously against the validity of the Frenchman's ordination, but from motives of expediency, not desiring to add to the difficulties of James II. in romanizing England, no decree is given. It will be noticed that no reason for the decision of invalidity is given by the consultors. From the way that the writer in the *Civiltà Cattolica* gives his quotations, it is very difficult to decide whether the dismissal of the Nag's Head legend refers to Gordon's case only, or to that of the French Calvinist as well, though he gives it as his own opinion that it was dismissed in 1684. If so, why was it officially brought forward again in 1704?

It is equally difficult to decide whether the *traditio instrumentorum* was also set aside as non-essential in 1684. From all that is known from other sources as to the opinions of Roman clerics and scholars favouring the "traditio" at periods much later, even than 1704, it is exceedingly doubtful if that matter was really so decided as early as 1684.

It is no less difficult to decide whether the examination of the Oriental Ordinals was made in 1684 or 1704.

If the examination in 1684 over the Frenchman's case was really so full and thorough as the advocate of Leo's Bull would have us to believe, then it presents the Roman Court in the most despicable light. It really had decided that Anglican orders were *nulliter*, but from worldly prudence refused to publish its decision. According to its own theology, it left souls in doubt on a matter on which depended their eternal salvation.

We prefer, however, to take a more charitable view than that now put forth by the Vatican. We believe that the examination in 1684 was not a thorough one; that the decision was come to on even less information than that which guided the decision in Gordon's case; that Rome had great hopes of the Roman policy of James II. succeeding; that in that case the policy of Julius and Pole would be repeated. No absolute condemnation of the Ordinal would then be passed, but the nation would be reconciled and the schism healed over by lapse of time. Such a policy may be deemed politic, diplomatic and shrewd, but certainly not wicked, despicable and un-christian, as it would have been had the Cardinals honestly believed the Ordinal of no force or validity.

Believing the Ordinal capable of a Catholic interpretation, they in the meantime contented themselves with passing a resolution *pro forma*, and shelved the question.

Such we believe to be both the charitable and rational interpretation of the action of 1684.

In the meantime, while these great matters of State were being decided, one asks one's self with sympathetic curiosity: What about "Il Giovane" and his marriage? Did he get married, or was he told to wait for the decree?

Poor fellow, he has had a long time to wait till Leo XIII., out of his *apostolic charity*, decided the case in his favour.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CASE OF JOHN CLEMENT GORDON.

THE POPE JUDGES ALL, BUT IS JUDGED
OF NO MAN.—*Paul IV., Bull, Cum ex Apostolatus officio.**

THE second case referred to by Leo XIII. is that of John Clement Gordon, Bishop of Galloway. The date of the decision in this case was 1704; that is to say, three years after the death of James II., and two years after the accession of Anne. It is easy to understand its connection with English history by remembering that 1704 was the date of the battle of Blenheim.

The writer in the *Civiltà Cattolica* states that the year 1704 marks “the beginning of a new series of documents of the Holy See.” The reason of this new era, we are told, is that then the Sacred College of the Holy Office examined the question. We would ask, if the decree of Paul IV. was

* Quoted by Quirinus, p. 636; also Jewel, Vol. VI., p. 243.

final, as the present Roman writers insist, Why did the Inquisition, the great champion of Papal infallibility, take the matter into consideration? It knew by its own maxims that the Pope judgeth all things, but is judged of nobody. If, again, the Anglican Ordinal had been so thoroughly and conscientiously examined in 1684, and the decision not published, merely for the sake of worldly prudence, why this exhaustive re-examination in 1704?

Nicholas I. had pronounced that "It is lawful for no man to judge of the Pope's judgment." Is it not evident that the "Eminent Inquisitors" did not consider the judgment of Julius III. or Paul IV. as final, and that they did not consider the examination of 1684 (only twenty years previously) sufficiently exhaustive to preclude a fresh investigation? They were, we are told, thirty-seven days discussing and studying the Anglican Ordinal. The length of the discussion does not prove that they came to a wise decision, but it does prove that they considered the whole question as unsettled and undecided. Before examining the decree, let us first see what Gordon said in his petition.

John Clement Gordon was Bishop of Galloway, and went into exile with James II. We have in this single fact a motive for his petition for reordination.

Into all the mis-statements of the petition it is idle to enter. Absurd, false, contradictory as they all are, they bear witness, however, to two important facts, the animus of the petitioner, and the current opinion of Roman officials. In this case, as in the Frenchman's, there is manifested a desire on the part of the petitioner to prove to his judges the nature of the verdict he requests. The man had already renounced his

faith. There is no conscientious setting forth of the case. Gordon, as the French say, was anxious to "regularize" his position at the court of St. Germain's, and his status among the courtiers of Louis XIV. The petition, as Barnes confesses, was not drawn up by Gordon himself. Such certainly would not be the usage. A petition of that nature is drawn up by proper officials. It therefore represents the current opinion of that time among Roman officials, or at any rate among those concerned with such matters. The petition recites the Nag's Head fable, gives the "form" of the Ordinal as "Take thou authority to preach the Word of God and to minister His holy sacraments" and the "matter" as the giving of the Bible. The whole petition exhibits the crassest ignorance. It adds considerably to our doubts as to the truth of the assertion of Brandi, that the Ordinal was thoroughly examined in 1684.

What Leo says in more guarded language is more plausible. He merely states that the same documents that had been consulted in the case of the French Calvinist were "called into use, and considered again in the examination of the second case" and we are told in the next section what the decision was.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE END OF THE NAG'S HEAD FABLE.

WHERE THERE IS NO TALE BEARER THE
STRIFE CEASETH.—*Proverbs xxvi. 20.*

APOSTOLICÆ CURÆ.

§ 5.—DECREE OF CLEMENT XI. AND ITS IMPORTANCE.

53 *And here it is important to observe that although Gordon himself, whose case it was, and some of the consultors had adduced, amongst the reasons which went to prove the invalidity, the Ordination of Parker, according to their own ideas about it, in the delivery of the decision this reason was altogether set aside, as documents of incontestable authenticity prove. Nor, in pronouncing the decision, was weight given to any other reason than the "defect of form and intention"; and in order that the judgment concerning this form might be more certain and complete, precaution was taken that a copy of the Anglican Ordinal should be submitted to examination, and that with it should be collated the Ordination forms gathered together from the various Eastern and Western rites.*

LE T IT here be remembered that Roman writers, Fitzsimon and others, have set forth that the decision rendered in this case of Gordon was based on the Nag's Head fable. Leo XIII. denies this. He states that while Parker's consecration, or rather lack of it, was adduced both by Gordon and the consultors in the case, yet that "in the delivery of the decision this reason was altogether set aside, as documents of incontestable authenticity prove."

Note well the wording of the Bull; the formal decision may not have mentioned the Nag's Head fable. Is it quite certain that it had no weight with the court? Fontanini, writing in 1723—nineteen years only after the decision—explicitly stated that the Nag's Head fable "was all they knew at Rome." Why does not Leo print as an Appendix "the documents of incontestable authenticity," which he maintains prove that the Nag's Head fable was altogether set aside—or, at any rate, why are the documents not allowed to be inspected? The Rev. T. A. Lacey, in a formal lecture (*Church Review*, November 26, 1896), has made a most grave charge. He asserts that the documents are in the archives of the Holy Office, but that, though he requested permission to see them, he was told that that was impossible, "that not even the Pope could give us permission to search those archives." A most grave charge against the honesty of the Papal Court. Until those documents see the light, we shall maintain the truth of the statements of Roman controversialists that the decision of Gordon's case was based on the Nag's Head fable.

It is a matter of thankfulness that the Roman Court has come to the conclusion that an official appeal to this fable

is now no longer tenable. The Nag's Head is at last dismissed to the limbo of other Roman legends. The *Civiltà Cattolica* tries to make us believe that it was not considered worthy of attention even in 1684. Why, then, in all these latter years, did not Rome have the candour and courtesy to allow its organ to say so? It would have saved much needless argument on both sides. The fact is, that the Italians are really in the frame of mind of those who are "convinced against their will." The scorn of scholars at the absurdity of putting credence in such a fable has really been what has forced the *Civiltà Cattolica* and the Papal entourage to apologize most grudgingly for its ever having been used. The closing words of this controversy as given by Rome are too important not to be put on record.

First, the pronouncement of the Italian mission in England:

"The controversy, therefore, so far at any rate as Catholics are concerned, is now very greatly narrowed, and such insoluble questions as whether Barlow was himself consecrated, and whether the Lambeth Register of Parker's consecration is a contemporary document, or can be considered to give a reliable account of what really occurred, are henceforth, to our great relief, likely to be discussed only by antiquarians, and not as having any really essential bearing on the matter. The question indeed now lies in a nutshell. All existing Anglican Bishops derive their consecration from Matthew Parker. He, however, was consecrated by a rite already condemned and adjudged null by the then reigning Pope, which judgment has now been reiterated and finally confirmed. His consecration

being therefore null, so also, in Catholic eyes, must also be all those which derive from it all the claim to efficacy they possess." *

Here then we have the admission, at last, that Parker was consecrated.

The virtue of his consecration is denied on two grounds:

1°. Condemnation of the Ordinal by the then reigning Pope.

2°. Confirmation of condemnation by Leo XIII.

As to the first ground, "the then reigning Pope" at the time of Parker's consecration, December 17, 1559, was Pius IV. Pius IV. never condemned the Ordinal. It is no doubt Paul IV. who is meant. He died August 18, 1559, and he did not, as we have shown, condemn the Ordinal, though Leo XIII. says he did.

As to the confirmation of condemnation by Leo XIII., we can only say that this is the greatest stretch of the doctrine of infallibility and papal supremacy that we have ever heard put forth—that a Pope can cause that which existed never to have existed. If Parker was validly consecrated three hundred and thirty-eight years ago, no condemnation by Leo XIII. can undo his consecration. Further, even if Paul IV. had condemned the Ordinal, that would not have deprived it of its grace and virtue. May we remind Mr. Barnes and his Italian friends that it is heresy to maintain that Ecclesiastical censures can affect the Sacraments?

Let us now turn to the pronouncement of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the organ of the Pope and of the Inquisition.

* Barnes, p. 11.

"These, then [Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, Hodgkin], were Parker's consecrators, and if we can rely on the Act preserved in the Archiepiscopal Register of Parker at Lambeth Palace, we must hold as historically certain that on the 17 December, 1559, Parker was consecrated by the Ordinal of Edward VI., by Barlow, aided by the other three above mentioned Prelates, who assisted him not only in Imposition of hands on the *consecrand*, but also in using the words of the Anglican form, 'Take the Holy Ghost, etc.'

"Being thus consecrated, Archbishop Parker in his turn consecrated the other candidates named by Elizabeth, and they their successors, and so on, all of them conforming to the new Ordinal, which from that time to our own days has been, with exception of one modification, constantly and faithfully followed in all the ordinations performed in the Anglican Church."*

After reciting the Nag's Head Fable, the writer goes on:

"But, however this may be, let us admit the falsity of the said legend, and let us deplore that some one or other modern Catholic writer foreign to England, and with little experience in English matters, has cited it in his writings as an argument to cast a doubt on Anglican orders."†

The fact of Parker's consecration is thus admitted, and the controversy is therefore shifted to the question as to whether the "form and intention" of the Ordinal used in his consecration were such as to convey the Christian Episcopate. This question can only be answered after the conclusion of our Liturgical Review of the Ordinal.

* Page 17.

† Page 19.

As far as the Historical Review is concerned, in this connection, the historical fact of the consecration of Matthew Parker on December 17, 1559, is all that Anglicans ever claimed.

This is now admitted by the Romanists.

So closes one chapter of the Anglo-Roman Controversy.

NOTE.—A pamphlet has recently (April, 1897) been published with the following title page, "A Last Word on Anglican Ordinations Being an Exposition of the Pontifical Bull, 'Apostolicae Curæ,' Containing a Complete Refutation of all the Objections Raised Against the Papal Decision. By the Rev. S. M. Brandi, S.J., Rome (Italy), with a special brief from the Sovereign Pontiff, approving the work, and notes by the Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J., London (England), only authorized English version (copyrighted). *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, New York, 1897."

We find on a comparison of this version with the original pamphlet in Italian by M. Brandi, to which we have all along alluded, and upon which we have based our remarks, that this "authorized version" differs considerably from the Italian text as given in M. Brandi's original articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica* or in the second edition of the same as reprinted by him in Rome, 1897, and published by the "Direzione ed Administratione della Civiltà Cattolica."

We name this here while these pages are going through the press, but will deal with the matter in the Appendix, to which we beg to refer the reader.

CHAPTER XIV.

DECREE OF CLEMENT XI.

IN THE CHURCH ITSELF REGARD MUST BE HAD TO THE CONSENTIENT VOICE OF UNIVERSALITY EQUALLY WITH THAT OF ANTIQUITY. . . . THEY SHOULD ASCERTAIN WHETHER ANY DECISION HAS BEEN GIVEN IN ANCIENT TIMES AS TO THE MATTER IN QUESTION BY THE WHOLE PRIESTHOOD OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH WITH THE AUTHORITY OF A GENERAL COUNCIL.—
*St. Vincent de Lerins.**

APOSTOLICÆ CURÆ.

§ 5.—DECREE OF CLEMENT XI. AND ITS IMPORTANCE.

53 *And here it is important to observe that although Gordon himself, whose case it was, and some of the consultors had adduced, amongst the reasons which went to prove the invalidity, the Ordina-*

* "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers," Vol. XI., p. 153.

tion of Parker, according to their own ideas about it, in the delivery of the decision this reason was altogether set aside, as documents of incontestable authenticity prove. Nor, in pronouncing the decision, was weight given to any other reason than the "defect of form and intention"; and in order that the judgment concerning this form might be more certain and complete, precaution was taken that a copy of the Anglican Ordinal should be submitted to examination, and that with it should be collated the Ordination forms gathered together from the various Eastern and Western rites. Then Clement XI. himself, with the unanimous vote of the Cardinals concerned, on the "Feria V."* April 17, 1704, decreed: "John Clement Gordon shall be ordained from the beginning and unconditionally to all the Orders, even Sacred Orders, and chiefly of priesthood, and in case he has not been confirmed he shall first receive the Sacrament of Confirmation." It is important to bear in mind that this judgment was in no wise determined by the omission of the tradition of instruments, for in such a case, according to the established custom, the direction would have been to repeat the Ordination conditionally: and still more important it is to note that the judgment of the Pontiff applies universally to all Anglican Ordinations, because, although it refers to a particular case, it is not based upon any reason special to that case, but upon the defect of form, which defect equally affects all these Ordinations; so much so, that when similar cases subsequently came up for decision the same decree of Clement XI. was quoted as the norma.

57 *[The term "Feria V." here used has a technical value. Ordinary meetings of the Supreme Council for the ratification of Decrees usually take place on the Wednesdays, and are marked "Feria IV." But the special and solemn sessions which, in matters of graver import, are held in the presence and under the presidency of the Pope himself, who thus in a special way makes the decisions his own, take place on Thursdays, and are marked "Feria V."]—Translator's Note in the official translation.

THE Decree of Clement XI. is the axis round which the whole Papal argument revolves. It is indeed of the supremest importance in their estimation. All that has gone before is nothing but a preparatory argument for the reception of this Decree of Clement XI., just as all that succeeds it is a mere apology of it. The adversary, defeated on the historical issue of Parker's consecration, suddenly falls behind his entrenchments in the Holy Office of the Inquisition, and fulminates his new ultimatum, basing it on brief quotations from documents which he will not publish.

The *Civiltà Cattolica*, which, as the organ of the Inquisition, is able to get at documents more easily than Leo XIII. himself, has vouchsafed to reveal to the world some further information concerning Clement's Decree. The writer of the articles, Salvatore Brandi, has evidently had access to the documents which were laid before the Cardinals in 1896. From what he tells us of them, and from what he does not tell us, a good deal of information may be gathered. We bring together the various statements made in regard to the decision of 1704. That such documents are not published in full, all students must regret. Publicity is, however, contrary to the traditions of the "Holy" Office. Nor must we fail to remember that Leo XIII. has expressly told us that he is not inspired by "mere human motives," and since he has, in March last, forbidden all further discussion on his Bull, we may rest assured that, for the present, at any rate, not even the *Civiltà Cattolica* will give us any further glimpses of "ancient documents." We, therefore, make no apology for quoting at such length

the articles of the *Civiltà*,* in so far as they refer to the Gordon case. To enable the reader more clearly to understand just what are the portions purported to be copied from ancient and secret documents belonging to the Inquisition, we print them in small capitals.

"By the *authentic* acts of the same Congregation, it appears that the aforesaid *Dubium* was proposed to the examination of the consultors March 10, 1704. Two weeks after they gave their vote :

"' QUOD PRÆDICTUS JOANNES CLEMENS GORDON ORDINETUR EX INTEGRO.'†

"On Feria IV., the 26th of said month :

"' EMI DIXERUNT QUOD INCLUSÆ SCRIPTURÆ MITTANTUR PER MANUS EORUMDEM E MORUM.'‡

"What the included written documents were will be clear from the Decree, which we will quote in full. However, it is certain that the *Dubium* was discussed entirely anew and studied during the space of *thirty-seven days*, as well by the Consultors as by the Eminent Inquisitors General.

"The *genuine* Decree, the text of which§ we publish for the first time in its integrity, is as follows :

"' FERIA V., THE 17TH DAY OF APRIL, IN THE USUAL CONGREGATION OF THE HOLY ROMAN AND UNIVERSAL INQUISITION, HELD IN THE PALACE OF SAINT PETER IN

* Pages 37-42.

† "That the said John Clement Gordon should be ordained from the beginning."

‡ "Their Eminences declared that the written documents should be sent through the hands of their Eminences themselves."

§ See Appendix for the Latin text.

THE PRESENCE OF OUR MOST HOLY LORD, POPE CLEMENT XI.

“ON THE PETITION OF JOHN CLEMENT GORDON, ANGLICAN BISHOP, CONVERTED TO THE CATHOLIC FAITH, AND CERTAIN WRITINGS OR RULES HAD ELSEWHERE BEEN COLLECTED FOR A SIMILAR CASE, ALTHOUGH IT HAD NOT BEEN FORMERLY DECIDED, OR AT LEAST NOTHING HAD BEEN DECREED CONCERNING THAT THING BY THE VOTE OF THE CONSULTORS, BY WHICH HE PETITIONED THAT NOTWITHSTANDING EPISCOPAL CONSECRATION OBTAINED BY BISHOPS OF THE ANGLICAN SECT, AND BY THE ACCUSTOMED RITE OF ITS PSEUDO-BISHOPS, THERE MIGHT BE CONCEDED TO HIM THE POWER OF PASSING TO THE ORDER OF THE PRESBYTERATE, TO BE RECEIVED ACCORDING TO THE CATHOLIC RITE, SINCE HIS CONSECRATION TO THE EPISCOPATE WAS NULL, BOTH ON ACCOUNT OF THE WANT OF A LEGITIMATE SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND AS WELL AS ON ACCOUNT OF OTHER REASONS BY WHICH THE AFORESAID CONSECRATION WAS RENDERED VOID.

“HIS HOLINESS HAVING HEARD THE VOTES OF THEIR EMINENCES, THE CARDINALS, DECREED THAT JOHN CLEMENT GORDON SHOULD BE ORDAINED FROM THE BEGINNING AND ABSOLUTELY TO ALL THE ORDERS, AND ESPECIALLY THAT OF THE PRESBYTERATE, AND INASMUCH AS HE HAD NOT BEEN CONFIRMED, THAT HE SHOULD FIRST RECEIVE THE SACRAMENT OF CONFIRMATION.”

“It is needless to observe that this was not, properly speaking, a decree of the Holy Office, confirmed after-

wards by the Supreme Pontiff, as has been said, and printed during the discussions of the last two years (Gasparri, p. 16), but it was truly a decree emanating from the Pontiff himself—*His Holiness decreed.*

“The written documents and rules elsewhere collected for a similar case, which is alluded to in the Decree, are the votes and Acts of the same Congregation relating to the case proposed to it the 24th of July, 1684, by the Bishop of Fano, Apostolic Nuncio to Paris.”

“From the circumstance then that these same acts were again brought up and given due weight in the case of Gordon, we can understand besides what the reasons were on which was founded the Decree of Clement XI. First it positively excluded from the number of these reasons, the fable relative to Parker’s consecration. In fact in these acts (from 1684–1686 and of 1704) it is repeatedly asserted that

‘IN SO GRAVE A MATTER A RESOLUTION OF SUCH CONSEQUENCE CANNOT BE SUPPORTED ON A FACT DISPUTED AMONG CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS’; that ‘THE ADEQUATE DECISION MUST BE DERIVED, NOT FROM THE FACT OF PARKER, WHICH DEPENDED ON A SUFFICIENTLY CONFUSED HISTORICAL NARRATIVE, . . . BUT FROM THE DEFECT OF INTENTION AND OF THE WORDS EMPLOYED BY THE ANGLICAN HERETICS IN THEIR ORDINAL FOR THE PRIESTHOOD’; that ‘THE PRINCIPAL SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION WAS THE EXAMINATION OF THE EDWARDINE FORM THAT REMAINED IN USE FOR MORE THAN A HUNDRED YEARS, AND OF THE SAME AFTER IT HAD BEEN TO A CERTAIN EXTENT CHANGED UNDER CHARLES II. IN 1662.’

"That the examination was made after attention had been paid anew to the Oriental forms, and, accordingly, 'THEN WERE TRANSLATED AND STUDIED THE FORM OF THE PRAYERS OF THE ARMENIANS, MARONITES, SYRIANS, JACOBITES AND NESTORIANS, AS WELL CATHOLIC AS HERETICAL.'

"That particularly in 1704, 'BY TWO OR THREE NEW VOTES, THE NULLITY OF THOSE ORDINATIONS WAS AGAIN PROVEN ESPECIALLY FROM INSUFFICIENCY OF FORM.'

"The text of this *Pro-Memoria* is what is erroneously given by Mgr. Gasparri (op. cit., pp. 16-18) as the genuine text of the Pontifical Decree of the 17th of April, 1704! Relying on such a false support, he writes:

"'Among the reasons invoked in favour of the nullity in the *Decree* (*sic*) of April 17, 1704, the principal one is the famous story of the *Nag's Head*, related, moreover, with variations and other manifest errors. . . . Now this fable, discarded to-day, takes away all authority from the decision (? !) or at least renders it doubtful.''"*

"Whence it appears, as the Holy Father rightly observes, that, although the Anglican Bishop, Gordon himself, in his *Pro-Memoria*, enumerated among the causes of nullity of his consecration the legend of Parker, nevertheless

"'In the delivery of the decision, this reason was altogether set aside, as documents of incontestable authenticity prove. NOR, IN PRONOUNCING THE DECISION, WAS WEIGHT

*These two sentences, commencing from the words, "The text of," are given in the form of a note in the original.

GIVEN TO ANY OTHER REASON THAN THE DEFECT OF FORM AND INTENTION.*

"And if, in the exposition of the case as it is stated in the genuine text of the Decree, express mention is made of the defect of *a legitimate succession of Bishops*, such a defect is to be referred to the invalidity of form, the Bishops being wanting in this respect, and on that account their succession had failed, as Paul IV. had already decided, and as is expressly said in the 'Relation' that precedes the Decree.

"From the same Acts regarding the two cases examined by the Holy Office in 1684-1686 and in 1704,† it is equally proved that there was also touched upon the question of the handing of the instruments, *traditio instrumentorum*, which has no place in the Anglican Ordinal. This was done not to prove an essential defect, but only to show

"THAT IF THIS *ALSO* WAS WANTING, THERE WAS WANTING ABSOLUTELY THE DETERMINATION OF THE WORDS ADOPTED IN THE *FORM*, THERE WAS WANTING THE DESIGNATION OF THE *POWER* DESIRED TO BE CONFERRED.'

"Besides, what theologian does not know even at that time, according to the jurisprudence of the Holy Office, such defect was not considered as a positive argument of nullity; but, as the Holy Father says in his Bull,

* Italics and capitals so printed in the original.

† Here is a reference to the following note. "The same is said in the *Acts* examined in the later cases examined by the same Congregation in regard to that of 1874, proposed to it by the Archbishop of Westminster."

'tunc præscriptum de more erat ut ordinatio *sub conditione* instauraretur'? *

"Finally, we must observe that, although the Decree of Clement XI. concerned the particular case of Gordon, yet it was not published, for a reason particular and proper to that case; but truly for a general reason, which is *vitium formæ*; a reason that is equally applicable for *all* the ordinations conferred with that form. In an ancient document of the Holy Office, this is expressly noted:

"'SUMMUS PONTIFEX PRONUNTIAVIT JUDICIJUM DIRECTE QUIDEM DE FACTO IN CASU SPECIALI PROPOSITO, INDIRECTE VERO DE JURE GENERALI INVALIDATIS ORDINUM ANGLICANORUM.' †

"Conforming itself to this interpretation, and authenticating it by its subsequent Acts, the Sacred Congregation, every time a similar case has been under consideration, has constantly replied by referring and applying the decree of Clement XI.

"The custom then of ordaining *ex integrō* and in an absolute manner, those ordained by the Anglican rite, was constantly followed in the Church from the year 1555 to the year 1704, and from then to our own days, that is for about three centuries and a half. The thirty-four Supreme Pon-

* The exact wording of this sentence in the *Apostolice Cura* is,

"Tunc enim præscriptum de more esset ut ordinatio *sub conditione* instauraretur."

This is a slight enough misquotation, but it does not strengthen one's faith in correctness of quotations from secret documents.

† The Supreme Pontiff pronounced judgment *directly* indeed on the fact proposed in a special case, *indirectly*, however, concerning the general rule of the invalidity of Anglican orders.

tiffs, who, during those years have occupied the Chair of Peter, have not ignored its existence, and have not only tolerated, but formally approved and sanctioned it. From which is deduced the following theological argument of the greatest weight :

“ ‘Quoniam,’ as the Holy Father says in his Bull,* ‘fir-
mum semper ratumque in Ecclesia mansit, Ordinis Sacra-
mentum, nefas esse iterari, fieri nullo pacto poterat ut talem
consuetudinem Apostolica Sedes pateretur tacita ac tol-
eraret. Atqui eam non toleravit solum, sed probavit etiam
et sanxit ipsa, quotiescumque in eadem re peculiare ali-
quod factum incidit judicandum.’ ”

No attentive reader will fail to be struck by the wording of this inspired article. It reads very much as if it were the *précis* of the arguments submitted to the Cardinals or to the Pope when the portion of the *Apostolice Curæ* relating to Gordon's case, and the Decree of Clement XI. was drafted. We are even inclined to believe that the slight verbal differences in the wording of the Latin text of the Bull, as shown in the quotations, represent the first version or original text. At any rate, we have here given us the presentation of the case as it was set forth by the officers of the Inquisition. Undoubtedly the extracts given above from the *Civiltà Cattolica* are of the greatest importance in the new stage of the controversy between Anglicans and the Papal Court—more important even than the words of the Bull itself.

* This again is not an accurate quotation. The official text of *Apostolice Curæ* has,

“ ‘Quoniam vero’ and ‘manserit’ for ‘mansit’ and ‘nullo modo’ instead of ‘nullo pacto.’ ”

Let us first notice the reason of the great importance attached to the Decree of Clement XI. It is not so much that it was issued by a Pope. The true reason is that it was issued by the Inquisition. A Pope may err, but the Inquisition cannot. Ways can be found for setting aside or ignoring Papal Decrees, Briefs and Bulls, but a decision of the Holy Office must not be attacked. When, however, the fact of Parker's consecration had to be admitted, when daring Roman scholars had pronounced that the Decree of Clement XI. in Gordon's case, being based upon the Nag's Head fable, was without any authority, then it was time to intervene. Decisions of Julius III. and Paul IV. might be questioned, but not that of Clement XI., given after having heard the will of the Eminent Inquisitors. Besides, was not Clement XI. the champion of the Jesuits? Had he not by his Bull *Unigenitus* crushed their hated foes, the Jansenists. To attack Clement was to attack the Society of Jesus. Very promptly, therefore, the Decree of Clement XI. was resurrected in its fulness, and "Catholics, chiefly non-English," were told "thus far, but no further might they go." The Inquisition had spoken, *causa finita est.*

If the Bull be examined in this light, much that will otherwise appear verbiage and foreign to the matter, will take on a new consequence. In order that the Decree of Clement might be surrounded with importance, it was necessary to give a brief sketch of past events, so as to give it an historical setting. A true and candid outline of the historical facts connected with the controversy between Rome and England which an historical student swayed by common human motives would have expected, if there was to

be an appeal to history, would be unnecessary and futile. As soon as the decision of Clement XI. is reached, then the curtain drops. The *question* is definitely settled. Here the Bull ought to have ended, according to the laws of dramatic unity. If it proceeds, it does so, not because there can be any reopening of the question by examining the Anglican Ordinal, but because it was thought necessary to emphasize the text of Clement's Decree, "defect of form and intention."

The point is brought out, with considerable iteration, that the Decree must not be considered as being a decree of the Holy Office, but a decree of the Pope himself. *His Holiness decreed!* In the "false" Decree the same statement is made, "*Our Holy Lord Pope decreed!*"

We fail to find the difference. We are quite willing to admit that the Pope took upon himself the responsibility of the decision of the Inquisition, and that they decreed it in his name and by his authority. What of it? It adds nothing to the value of the decision to students. It does not change the facts on which the decision was based. But the Inquisition gives us quotations from other documents in support of its contention that the Nag's Head fable was dismissed. It is a pity that the quotations should be given in a clumsy manner as well as in an abbreviated form. A text apart from the context can be made to prove anything, even when taken from Holy Writ. The strength of the position now taken by the Inquisition lies evidently, in its opinion, in the written documents and rules elsewhere collected for a similar case alluded to in the opening part of Clement's Decree.

We are first told that, because the material collected in

the 1684 case was referred to in 1704, therefore all reasons relative to Parker's consecration were positively excluded in the latter decision. To prove this, we have brief quotations given to us from *the Acts of 1684-1686 and of 1704*. This is a very vague way of quoting. The first quotation gives us the amusing information that in so grave a matter as an Ordinal, the committee as early as March, or within two weeks of the *Dubium* being first laid before them, came to the conclusion that Gordon should be ordained "*ex integrō*."

We are told, with all the emphasis of italics, that the matter was studied during the space of *thirty-seven days* by the Inquisitors General. This does not strike us as a long period for a committee to be in session on a matter of importance. The matter was first brought up on March 10, and the Decree was signed April 17. "Two weeks after the tenth" we are told the decision was reached. Consequently the remaining three weeks do not count for anything. The decision having been arrived at, it was brought up at the next formal meeting, April 17, and passed on.

Practically, therefore, the time given to the actual consideration of the matter was a fortnight. Any one who has any experience of committee work knows very well for how little a fortnight counts. The committee devotes during such a period a few occasional hours to the subject it has on hand. Even if, however, the whole of thirty-seven days had been given to the consideration of the matter, we fail to be struck by such an evidence of laborious toil.

If the terms of the decision as stated in the genuine Decree be read, we do not find that there is much difference between it and the one given in the "false" Decree.

Let us see what we have learned in regard to this decision which Rome tells us is the crucial one.

At the outset we learn that the text of Gordon's petition is genuine. There is no attempt to correct that. An attempt is merely made to laugh away the arguments which Gasparri has deduced from it. It is said that, because the text of the Decree has not hitherto been genuinely quoted, therefore arguments based on the petition are absurd. We fail to see the connection. A judgment must always be considered in the light of the petition or charge on which it is pronounced. All legal decisions would be unintelligible unless this rule was observed. Nor is there anything in the "genuine" text of the Decree which contradicts the deductions drawn by Gasparri. If the Decree had condemned the Nag's Head fable—this might be pleaded—but there is no such condemnation.

When the genuine text of a Decree is compared with that hitherto furnished to the world* one asks one's self, Are there not after all two Decrees, or two varying texts of the Decree in the Holy Office? We fail to see that the "genuine" text contradicts the "false" one. The "false" one has too much the appearance of being a copy of a genuine document, for us to believe that it was manufactured out of whole cloth. If the Decree as published by Estcourt is false, as we are now assured by the Inquisition, why did Rome allow its publication these many years to go uncorrected? Is this the Roman idea of sincerity and candour?

The "genuine" Decree tells us that the documents col-

* See Appendix.

lected for use in a former case, presumably that of the anonymous Frenchman, were examined in Gordon's case.

As we have no reason to form any very high idea of the value of those documents, the mere mention of their being referred to in 1704 does not add weight to the Decree. It is true that we are assured that the persons who drew up these documents in 1684-86 were persons of "the greatest learning."* Possibly, but their reputation has not lasted for a couple of centuries. We are now graciously given the names of some of these great scholars. The mention of their names fails to awe us—Leyburn, Gifford, Bettan. The fame of their learning has not reached us.

The Decree then recites the substance of Gordon's petition: That he has been consecrated by Pseudo-Bishops, and that he begs to be allowed to pass to the order of the Presbyterate according to the Catholic rite, since his consecration was null, both on account of the want of a legitimate succession of Bishops in England and Scotland, as well as on account of other reasons. This seems to us just such a summary of Gordon's petition as would naturally be incorporated in any official decision upon such a petition. We do not see that it varies very much from the summary given in the "false" Decree.

The summary in the "genuine" Decree does not mention the Nag's Head fable definitely, but neither does the summary of the "false" Decree. Consequently the argument of Gasparri is just as sound against the "genuine" as it was against the "false." We are now told that the Nag's

* See page 105, ante.

Head fable was set aside in the Decree of Clement. We fail to see that it was. We believe it to be included in the very term of the Decree, "on account of the want of a legitimate succession of Bishops as well as on account of other reasons." In one sense the Bishops in England were not "legitimate," since they had rebelled against the Papal overlordship. If this be pressed as the sole meaning of the term in the Decree, then what was the use of an examination? The fact of rebellion was patent, notorious, and admitted by the rebels. The examination into ancient forms would then have been, according to this latest plea from Rome, a farce. We do not believe it was intended to be a farce. We believe that Leyburn, Gifford and Bettan, though unknown to fame, were honest gentlemen. By want of legitimate succession they did refer to Parker's consecration, or his lack of it; they did believe in the Nag's Head fable. Just as Fontanini found nineteen years afterwards, in 1723, that that was the only belief in Rome itself. Parker not having been consecrated, and the Edwardine Ordinal being deficient in their eyes, the necessary consequence was that the decision should rest on the alleged defect in the Ordinal alone, as Leo's Apologist tells us a resolution cannot be supported on "a fact disputed among Catholics and Protestants." What an idea of pastoral simplicity this conveys. Rome refusing to take advantage of an argument which Protestants challenge! One really would think that it was Rome that had issued the challenge for a neutral body, "a good General Council," to decide upon the questions at issue between herself and Christendom. Far be it from Rome to press an argument based on a disputed fact.

The next quotation from the secret documents is more precise; it boldly refers to Parker by name.

"The adequate decision must be derived, not from the fact of Parker, which depended on a sufficiently confused historical narrative, . . . but from the defect of intention and of the words employed by the Anglican heretics in their Ordinal for the priesthood (*ordine sacerdotale*)."

If these words are truly quoted from an historical document of 1684, then it must be admitted that the Apologist of Leo XIII. is right in his contention that the Nag's Head fable was really set aside, both in 1684 and in 1704. If set aside in 1684, why have Roman writers been allowed for over two hundred years to bear false witness against their neighbours? We would rather, for the sake of Christian morality, that the Papal Court had, through ignorance, really believed in the fable which they now at last disown.

One cannot help asking, Why that tantalizing hiatus in the quotation? Why was not such a document, so important to the Papal argument, reproduced in full? The laboured explanations to which the Inquisition devotes so many pages are all thrown away. The mere printing of the document *in extenso*, without a word of comment, would carry conviction with it.

The next quotation from these secret documents tells us that the principal discussion turned on the Edwardine Ordinal as it was before and after Charles II. There is nothing improbable in this statement, though we very much doubt that it is an extract from a document written in 1684. The next quotation from these mysterious sources informs us that the Oriental forms and others were translated and

studied. It must be borne in mind that these quotations are given to show that the reasons for the decision in 1704 were based on the documents of 1684, and they all, therefore, purport to be extracts from the "letters and writings" of that earlier period. This is emphasized by the statement which treads on the heels of this last quotation, that particularly in 1704, "by two or three new votes, the nullity of those ordinations was again proved from insufficiency of form." Insufficiency of form and intention was therefore the ground of the decision in 1684, which was then come to on an examination of the Oriental and other forms enumerated.

If it be said that the writer meant that this quotation relating to Oriental and other Liturgies referred to the examination in 1704, then he leaves us in absolute doubt as to which of his quotations are taken from the documents of 1684–86, and his whole argument collapses. We believe, of course, that an examination of these Liturgies took place in 1704. As to whether the examination was conducted on proper lines, that is another matter. It all depends upon what view was taken of the Anglican Ordinal. If, as has been maintained, they looked on "*Accipe potestatem prædicandi*" as the essential form of the Anglican Ordinal, they certainly might have some show of reason on their side, to declare it invalid, nor is there anything in the Articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica* to disprove this. On the contrary, the decision reached might very well be given in the form in which it is rendered, had this been the controlling reason for the rejection of the Ordinal. We are assured that the question of Parker's consecration was not considered, nor was the question of the *traditio instrumentorum*, and

that the Decree was rendered for no other reason than defect of "form and intention." All this might very well be, and yet the Commission might be in error as to what was the "form and intention" in the Anglican Ordinal. As to the *traditio instrumentorum* not being considered necessary in 1684-86 and 1704, we doubt that assertion very much. It certainly was considered necessary at a later date than even 1704. The reason given by Leo XIII. why the *traditio instrumentorum* was not required in 1704 is that Gordon was ordered to be ordained *ex integro*, and that had it been decided that the *Traditio* was the only thing lacking, his ordination would have been simply a conditional one, as was then the custom. Unfortunately for that argument, the custom was just the opposite. The Roman custom where the *Traditio* had been omitted, was absolute reordination. And this custom was in force as far down as 1740, as is proved by the ruling of Benedict XIV.

The decision in Gordon's case is therefore left just where it was before the issue of *Apostolicae Curæ* or of its official defence. We know absolutely no more than we did before, as to the exact grounds of the decision, notwithstanding all the quotations from the secret archives of the Holy Office. On the other hand, we have learned that Rome now says, that none of the following three points form any true basis for a decision against Anglican orders.

- 1°. The Nag's Head fable in any of its bearings.
- 2°. Any doubt as to the historical fact of Parker's consecration.
- 3°. Any plea that the *traditio instrumentorum* is essential, and, further,

4°. That "form and intention" are the only two things which require investigation.

These are certain results, and great gains.

Would we might add as additional matter, to be excluded in any decision against Anglican orders, what the *Civiltà Cattolica* asserts has been constantly so excluded by the Inquisition and the Pope.

5°. "Resolutions that cannot be supported on facts disputed among Catholics and Protestants."

The narrowing down of the controversy to the Gordon decision is an incalculable gain. But let us not forget that it opens out a great deal of new work for Anglican scholars.

Let it ever be borne in mind that whatever new facts may come to light, that however extended the enquiry may be, which lies before us, that work is not undertaken to prove the validity of Anglican orders. Anglicans have not a particle or shred of doubt on that subject. The certain validity of her orders and sacraments is one of the dearest possessions of the great Anglican Church, and her children will ever be ready to respond to the call to arms, when either her orders or her faith are challenged.

The new investigation opening out in front of us will, undoubtedly, be into the faith, orders, and liturgies of the Greek Church and of primitive times.

As this Chapter opened with a brief quotation from St. Vincent de Lerins, so may it close with the passage from which the quotation was made.

"We said above that it has always been the custom of Catholics, and still is, to prove the true faith in these two ways: first, by the authority of the Divine Canon, and

next, by the tradition of the Catholic Church. Not that the Canon alone does not of itself suffice for every question, but seeing that the more part, interpreting the divine words according to their own persuasion, take up various erroneous opinions, it is therefore necessary that the interpretation of Divine Scripture should be ruled according to the one standard of the Church's belief, especially in those articles on which the foundation of all Catholic doctrine rests.

"We said, likewise, that in the Church itself regard must be had to the consentient voice of universality, equally with that of antiquity, lest we either be torn from the integrity of unity and carried away to schism, or be precipitated from the religion of antiquity into heretical novelties. We said, further, that in this same ecclesiastical antiquity two points are very carefully and earnestly to be held in view by those who would keep clear of heresy : first, they should ascertain whether any decision has been given in ancient times as to the matter in question by the whole priesthood of the Catholic Church, with the authority of a General Council; and secondly, if some new question should arise on which no such decision has been given, they should then have recourse to the opinions of the holy Fathers, of those at least, who each in his own time and place remaining in the unity of communion and of the Faith, were accepted as approved masters ; and whatsoever these may be found to have held, with one mind and with one consent, this ought to be accounted the true and Catholic doctrine of the Church, without any doubt or scruple." *

Sic fratres Anglicani laboremus et oremus.

* "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers," Vol. XI., p. 153.

CHAPTER XV.

THE QUESTION DEFINITELY SETTLED.

THAT THE EARTH MOVES DAILY IS ABSURD, PHILOSOPHICALLY FALSE, AND THEOLOGICALLY CONSIDERED AT LEAST ERONEOUS IN FAITH.—*Paul V., Feria V., February 25, 1616.*

APOSTOLICÆ CURÆ.

§ 6.—THE QUESTION ALREADY DEFINITELY SETTLED.

58 *Hence it must be clear to every one that the controversy lately revived had been already definitely settled by the Apostolic See, and that it is to the insufficient knowledge of these documents that we must perhaps attribute the fact that any Catholic writer should have*
59 *considered it still an open question. But, as We stated at the beginning, there is nothing We so deeply and ardently desire as to be of help to men of goodwill by showing them the greatest consideration*
60 *and charity. Wherefore We ordered that the Anglican Ordinal,*

which is the essential point of the whole matter, should be once more most carefully examined.

A WORD as to "Feria V." The translator's note to the official English text gives us the information that Feria V. has a technical meaning of much value. Decisions of the Inquisition which are issued on any day of the week but Feria V., in common parlance, Thursday, are only ordinary decisions. Those issued on Feria V. are issued under the presidency of the Pope, and thus in a special way he makes those decisions his own. Any decree of the Inquisition is practically irrevocable, but a decree of the Pope and Inquisition combined is infallible and irrevocable. This is the reason for the Bull *Apostolicae Curæ* being issued on "Feria V.," July 16, 1896. The decision is meant to be final. That is why we are especially told that the Decree of Clement XI. was issued on "Feria V.," April 17, 1704. Therefore are we told that the question is already definitely settled in Section 6.

Leo XIII. has a rather amusing paragraph in this section which reads : "that it is to insufficient knowledge of these documents that we must perhaps attribute the fact that any Catholic writer should have considered it an open question." We have just seen that it is through insufficient knowledge of the very documents which he quotes, that the Bishop of Rome has been led to consider the question closed. If his flock have come to erroneous opinions through lack of documents, whose the fault ?

When we come to the Liturgical Review, we have access to all the documents necessary to a right decision. The

Holy Scriptures and the Primitive Liturgies, thank God, these are not hidden within the archives of the office of the Inquisition. They are as open to us as they are to Rome. Both Rome and ourselves here appeal to the same text.

In the Historical Review, Rome claims, and this claim of hers we frankly admit, that she has access to documents which no one else can examine. Then, again, we admit that owing to the civil war in England, and to various other causes, the archives of different Episcopal sees, which, through a good-natured and magnanimous tolerance, have ever been free both to Papist and Puritan, are now without several important documents—the record of Parker's consecration, for example. The Historical Review has always been admitted by Anglican writers to be of the greatest possible consequence to their cause. The Bishop of Rome, by devoting the greater portion of his Bull to the same Review, has also acknowledged it of supreme importance. It is therefore with no little satisfaction that we find that the enquiry into historical facts leaves the validity of the Anglican Ordinal absolutely untouched. Nay, further, that a fresh examination of the documents cited in the Bull leaves the fact beyond peradventure that, historically speaking, the Edwardine Ordinal and orders conferred by it were acknowledged as valid by the Papal Court itself in Queen Mary's reign. The break in continuity must, according to the present Bull, be found not in the reign of Edward VI., but, if at all, in that of Elizabeth; for through the combined exertions of Philip, Mary, the Popes and their Legates, ecclesiastical and Papal continuity had, in the eyes of Rome, been restored to England in Queen Mary's reign.

This is a most important fact to remember. Who believes for a moment that if the Papal religion had continued dominant under Elizabeth and her successors, we should have heard one word about the invalidity of Anglican Orders?

As Professor Bernard has well put it, "There was no question in Mary's reign of breach of continuity; nothing suggested worse than a little irregularity and not a little heresy."* M. Boudinhon has, as we have seen, admitted that no one dreamed of doubting the validity of the Anglican Ordinal in Queen Mary's reign.

Mgr. Gasparri has declared that the decision of Clement XI., based as it is on the Nag's Head fable, which it does not condemn, is robbed of all authority, or at any rate is of doubtful value. The quotations from the secret documents furnished by the organ of the Inquisition do not shake the force of Mgr. Gasparri's statement. Parker's consecration is at last historically admitted, both by the Pope and the Inquisition on "Feria V." The *traditio instrumentorum* is likewise declared non-essential on "Feria V." These two decisions are therefore binding on Roman writers.

These are all clear gains. Nor let us be discouraged because Rome has pronounced the question as finally settled, and that the decision is considered by some of her children as irrevocable by her. "Feria V." may be a name to conjure by, and to awe some into submission. But Rome has passed many irrevocable and infallible decisions which were never by any man to be questioned, but nevertheless they have been judged and found wanting, and that by Rome herself. Both the Pope and the Inquisition formally

* *Church Times*, p. 415, 1896.

condemned the doctrine of the earth's motion round the sun—condemned like Anglican Orders by two Popes, and not twice, but thrice, on "Feria V."

"Feria V.," February 25, 1616.

"Feria V.," March 15, 1616.

"Feria V.," June 30, 1630.

As the Decrees of Paul V. and Urban VIII. did not stop the earth in her orbit round the sun, so will not the Decrees of Clement XI. and Leo XIII. stop the progress of the Ecclesia Anglicana in her onward course, obedient to the Sun of Righteousness.

PART SECOND.

THE LITURGICAL REVIEW.

CHAPTER I.

LEO XIII. AND THE ANGLICAN ORDINAL.

IN CASES WHERE THE THING DISREGARDED IS NOT THE FAITH (SAYS ALSO THE HOLY PHOTIUS) AND IS NO FALLING AWAY FROM ANY GENERAL AND CATHOLIC DECREE, DIFFERENT RITES AND CUSTOMS BEING OBSERVED AMONG DIFFERENT PEOPLE, A MAN WHO KNOWS HOW TO JUDGE RIGHTLY WOULD DECIDE THAT NEITHER DO THOSE WHO OBSERVE THEM ACT WRONGLY, NOR DO THOSE WHO HAVE NOT RECEIVED THEM BREAK THE LAW. *

APOSTOLICÆ CURÆ.

§ 7.—THE ANGLICAN ORDINAL.

61 *In the examination of any rite for the effecting and administering of a Sacrament, distinction is rightly made between the part*

* "Answer of the Great Church of Constantinople to Leo XIII.." p. 23.

which is ceremonial and that which is essential, usually called the matter and form. All know that the Sacraments of the New Law, as sensible and efficient signs of invisible grace, ought both to signify the grace which they effect, and effect the grace which they signify. Although the signification ought to be found in the whole essential rite—that is to say, in the matter and form—it still pertains chiefly to the form; since the matter is the part which is not determined by itself, but which is determined by the form, and this appears still more clearly in the Sacrament of Orders, the matter of which, in so far as We have to consider it in this case, is the imposition of hands, which indeed by itself signifies nothing definite, and is equally used for several Orders and for Confirmation. But the words which until recently were commonly held by Anglicans to constitute the proper form of priestly Ordination—namely, “Receive the Holy Ghost,” certainly do not in the least definitely express the Sacred Order of Priesthood, or its grace and power, which is chiefly the power “of consecrating and of offering the true body and blood of the Lord” (*Council of Trent, Sess. XXII., de Sacr. Ord., Can. 1*) in that sacrifice which is no “nude commemoration of the sacrifice offered on the Cross” (*Ibid., Sess. XXII., de Sacrif. Missæ, Can. 3*). This form had indeed afterwards added to it the words “for the office and work of a priest,” etc.; but this rather shows that the Anglicans themselves perceived that the first form was defective and inadequate. But even if this addition could give to the form its due signification, it was introduced too late, as a century had already elapsed since the adoption of the Edwardine Ordinal. for, as the Hierarchy had become extinct, there remained no power of ordaining. In vain has help been recently sought for the plea of the validity of Orders from the other prayers of the same Ordinal. For, to put aside other reasons which show this to be insufficient for the purpose in the Anglican rite, let

this argument suffice for all: from them has been deliberately removed whatever sets forth the dignity and office of the priesthood in
69 the Catholic rite. That form consequently cannot be considered apt or sufficient for the Sacrament which omits what it ought essentially to signify.
70, 71 The same holds good of Episcopal Consecration. For to the formula "Receive the Holy Ghost," not only were the words "for the office and work of a bishop," etc., added at a later period, but even these, as we shall presently state, must be understood in a sense
72 different to that which they bear in the Catholic rite. Nor is anything gained by quoting the prayer of the preface, "Almighty God," since it in like manner has been stripped of the words which denote
73 the summmum sacerdotium. It is not here relevant to examine whether the Episcopate be a completion of the priesthood or an Order distinct from it, or whether when bestowed, as they say per saltum,
74 on one who is not a priest, it has or has not its effect. But the Episcopate undoubtedly by the institution of Christ most truly belongs to the Sacrament of Orders and constitutes the sacerdotium in the highest degree, namely, that which by the teaching of the Holy Fathers and our liturgical customs is called the "summmum sacerdotium, sacri ministerii summa." So it comes to pass that, as
75 the Sacrament of Orders and the true sacerdotium of Christ were utterly eliminated from the Anglican rite, and hence the sacerdotium is in nowise conferred truly and validly in the Episcopal consecration of the same rite; for the like reason, therefore, the Episcopate can in nowise be truly and validly conferred by it; and this the more so because among the first duties of the Episcopate is that of ordaining ministers for the Holy Eucharist and Sacrifice.

UNDER the Historical Review, we saw that the main contention of Leo XIII. and of the Inquisition, in

siting the precedent of the Gordon case, was that that decision against the validity of Anglican orders had been given for no other reason than "the defect of form and intention" in the Edwardine Ordinal. We have also seen that there is strong reason to doubt the accuracy of that statement, and to believe that weight was given to other reasons which, however, the Papal court does not, in these days, care to acknowledge, so discredited have they become at the hands of her own scholars. At any rate, the issue is now narrowed down as to whether there is such defect of "form and intention" in the Edwardine Ordinal as to invalidate all orders under that Ordinal.

This was not a matter to discuss under the Historical Review, and the Bishop of Rome, therefore, rightly deferred examining the questions involved under the technical names of matter and form till the present section.

Let us see what he says.

- 1°. He lays down that "matter" belongs to "ceremonial."
- 2°. That "form" belongs to the "essential" part.
- 3°. That "matter and form" ought to be found in the whole rite under which a sacrament is administered.
- 4°. That "matter" is determined by the "form."
- 5°. That "form" is consequently of more importance than "matter."
- 6°. Especially is "form" essential in the sacrament of orders.

The six points laid down by the Bishop of Rome are, in his judgment, therefore, axioms by which all subsequent deductions are to be tested. In our examination, we agree to be bound by them. We are glad at the outset to find it

laid down that "form" is higher than "ceremonial." We very much fear that when this section was penned a copy of the Ordinal of the First Book of Edward VI. was not before the eyes of the writers of it. That we may not miss a single shred of the argument of the Bishop of Rome, and with, we confess, an Anglican prejudice to verify quotations, we lay the Ordinal open before us.

Having stated his axioms, Leo XIII. now proceeds to apply their text to the Edwardine Ordinal, and thereupon delivers himself of the following judgment :

"But the words which until recently were commonly held by Anglicans to constitute the proper form of priestly ordination, namely, '*Receive the Holy Ghost,*' certainly do not in the least definitely express the sacred order of priesthood, or its grace and power, which is chiefly the power '*of consecrating and of offering the true body and blood of the Lord*' (Council of Trent, Sess. XXIII., de Sacr. Ord., Can. 1), in that sacrifice which is no '*nude commemoration of the sacrifice offered on the cross*' (*Ibid.*, Sess. XXII., de Sacrif. Misæ, Can. 3)." (*A. C. 64.*)

By "until recently" it is presumed that the writer of the Bull means that until 1661 the words in the Edwardine Ordinal were as he quotes them. It is a curious phrase, and to an ordinary reader would be quite misleading. Misleading in many respects, because the phrase certainly implies that he was quoting an opinion current among Anglican divines, and not the very formulary of the Church herself. Again misleading, because it implies that since the period meant by the term "until recently" the same opinion is no longer held by Anglicans. It would have been much more

honest to have simply said that from 1549 to 1661 the words accompanying the laying-on of hands on those to be ordained Priests or to be consecrated Bishops, as they appeared in the Edwardine Ordinal, were unchanged. However, let us pass on to the quotation itself, namely, "Receive the Holy Ghost." We turn to the Ordinal, and, strange to say, do not find this as the formula in the Ordination for Priests. Has the Bishop of Rome got an original in the Archives of the Inquisition from which our printed copies have varied? Or is he falling into the old habit of misquotation?

We incline to the more charitable view that, by mistake, he was thinking of his own form of consecration for Bishops, where the formula might certainly be claimed to be as he quotes it. The form in the Ordination of Priests up to the alteration in 1662 was as follows :

"Receive the Holy Ghost: Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His Holy Sacraments : In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

This is the form, and not the one quoted by the Bishop.

Let us next turn to the Canons of the Council of Trent, and see whether that quotation is a true one. Canon I. of Session XXIII. reads (quoting the official Roman Catholic translation into English by Waterworth):

"Canon I. If any one saith that there is not in the New Testament a visible and external priesthood; or that there is not any power of consecrating and offering the true body and blood of the Lord, and of forgiving and retaining sins; but only an office and bare ministry of

preaching the Gospel; or that they who do not preach are not priests at all, let him be anathema."

Well, what of it? The Edwardine Ordinal never said anything different, nor has the Prayer Book in any of its subsequent editions said anything different. This is true Anglican doctrine. The Canon conflicts, however, with the doctrine of Leo XIII., for he says that the grace and power of the priesthood "is chiefly the power of consecrating and of offering the true body and blood of the Lord," and in support of this he refers to the Canon just quoted. While the Council of Trent does not rank consecrating as the chief power, it classes consecrating with absolution, and does not say one is greater than another.

The imperative form in the Edwardine Ordinal first repeats the form used by our Blessed Lord Himself, as recorded by St. John (xx. 22):

"Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained"; and to further specify the "grace and power" conveyed, it adds: "And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His Holy Sacraments"

Is it possible for language to be plainer or more precise?

First, the Holy Ghost is given; for without the gift of the Holy Ghost all the acts of the Priest are void. His sacramental powers derive their efficacy from the Holy Spirit.

Then the powers given are enumerated.

1°. The power of forgiving and retaining sins.

2°. The power of dispensing the Word of God, that is, to preach, to teach, and to guard. "Dispensing" is a literal rendering of the term "dispensator," which was the usual

Latin rendering of St. Paul's term, "steward." A "dispenser" of the Word of God is therefore the amplest and most scriptural term that could be chosen.

3°. Then the power of dispensing God's Holy Sacraments, or of exercising the stewardship of the Holy Mysteries.

However much Anglicans and Romans may differ as to the number of Holy Sacraments, owing to their different definition of the word "Sacrament," yet both agree that by the term the "Holy Sacraments" are included at least "Holy Baptism," and "Holy Communion."

The Priest who rises from his knees after his ordination by the Edwardine or Elizabethan Ordinal is possessed of these four powers:

To absolve.

To dispense the Word of God.

To baptize.

To celebrate the Holy Communion.

These four powers were those conferred on the Apostolate by our Lord. They have ever been taken as the powers of the Priesthood. They are certainly the scriptural powers. It is true that with regard to "teaching" or dispensing the Word of God, some Christians have conceded that right to persons not ordained Priests, and others have similarly conceded to laymen the right to baptize, yet Absolution and the Celebration have always been jealously limited to the priesthood. Among Protestant separatists, while some of their ministers are by them given the right of administering the Lord's Supper, all Protestant bodies have rejected the power of Absolution as inherent in their ministers. The Anglican priesthood is therefore more com-

plete as far as its powers go than the *Ministerium* of any of the Protestant bodies; and, as we shall see later on, also more complete than the Roman Presbyterate.

Apart from ecclesiastical law, the civil law of England has ever recognized these four powers as inherent in a priest ordained by a Bishop. For the Bishop of Rome to come at this late date and inform English Bishops and Judges that these powers were not given by the Edwardine Ordinal, is just as futile as the decision of one of his predecessors that the earth did not move round the sun. To us it seems almost childish to continue the argument. The interest in the battle is lost. It is like charging the empty air. With languid curiosity as to what the Bishop of Rome can possibly find to say next, we resume our reading. The last clause of the wonderful paragraph under consideration refers to the Holy Communion, and is in these words "*in that sacrifice which is no nude commemoration of the sacrifice offered on the cross.*" Well, again, we ask, Why this quotation? The Church of England has nowhere said that the Holy Communion is a bare or "*nude commemoration of the sacrifice offered on the cross.*" It is a stale Roman device to accuse Anglicans of this falsehood. "Let no scorner or sycophant suppose," said Latimer, when before his accusers, "that I make nothing of the Sacrament but a bare and naked sign." The Jesuit Harding, when he tried to answer Jewel, accused Anglicans of holding that doctrine. Jewel wrote against that assertion of Harding, the marginal quotation, "The 127th untruth. For this is no part of our doctrine"; and in the body of his text commented on it as follows:

"And whereas M. Harding thus unjustly reporteth of us,

that we maintain a naked figure, and a bare sign or token only, and nothing else; if he be of God, he knoweth well he should not thus bestow his tongue or hand to bear false witness. It is written, ‘God will destroy them all that speak untruth.’ He knoweth well, we feed not the people of God with bare signs and figures; but teach them that the Sacraments of Christ be holy mysteries, and that in the ministration thereof Christ is set before us, even as He was crucified upon the cross; and that therein we may behold the remission of our sins and our reconciliation unto God, and, as Chrysostom briefly saith, ‘Christ’s great benefit and our salvation.’ Herein we teach the people, not that a naked sign, or token, but that Christ’s Body and Blood indeed and verily is given unto us; that we verily eat It; that we verily drink It; that we verily be relieved and live by It; that we are bones of His bones, and flesh of His flesh; that Christ dwelleth in us and we in Him.”*

This is the declaration of the Church of England against her Roman traducers by one who was ordained Priest and consecrated a Bishop by this very Edwardine Ordinal, and who in turn both ordained and consecrated under its forms.

[Substitute Leo XIII. for Mr. Harding, and we let it stand as our answer]

The Bishop of Rome has appealed to the Canons of the Council of Trent—Canons not binding on Anglicans, but strictly binding on Romans. We doubt not that Leo is a good Romanist, and accepts as final and binding on his conscience the said Canons, and that he believes in the anathemas of his infallible predecessors. He declares that

* Vol. II., p. 325.

"the words, '*Receive the Holy Ghost*,' certainly do not in the least definitely express the sacred order of the Priesthood, or its grace and power." The Anglican Church has never said they did, but the Council of Trent, in that very same Session XXIII. and under the Canons headed "On the Sacrament of Order," has, in the fourth Canon, which treats of the ordination of the Priesthood, certainly implied, if not expressed, the very doctrine condemned by Leo XIII.

"Canon IV. If any one saith that by sacred ordination the Holy Ghost is not given; and that vainly therefore do the Bishops say, '*Receive ye the Holy Ghost*'; or that a character is not imprinted by that ordination, or that he who has once been a priest can again become a layman; let him be anathema." *

Against all of which we have no quarrel, for it is the comfortable doctrine of the Church of England.

It is noteworthy that, in the whole eight Canons on the subject of "The Sacrament of Order," this is the only one referring to the "form" of ordination, and it is all the more remarkable because the next Canon refers to the "matter" or ceremonial. The fourth and fifth of these Canons do therefore certainly respectively refer to form and matter of orders—and this has been the teaching of Roman theologians. The present Bishop of Rome has therefore thus come perilously near incurring the anathema attached to this fourth Canon.

Let us examine the next sentence in the Bull :

"This form had indeed afterwards added to it the words, '*for the office and work of a priest*,' etc.; but this rather

* Waterworth, p. 174.

shows that the Anglicans themselves perceived that the first form was defective and inadequate." (*A. C. 65.*)

In 1662 the opening words of the form were amplified as follows: "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive," etc., as in the Edwardine Ordinal.

The reason for this amplification was not the one given in the Bull. It was not done to conciliate Papists, or owing to remonstrances or objections from them. The mere date of the alteration will show this. The words "for the office and work of a priest," etc., were added by Convocation between the date of its first session, November 21, 1661, and the passage of the Bill of Uniformity on April 9, 1662, which gave the new Book the sanction of the civil law. Any student of European history knows that this was the second year following the restoration of the monarchy in England under Charles II.; that the question before the Church was not how to conciliate Romanists, but to meet Presbyterians in friendly conference. This conference, known as the Savoy Conference, met on April 15 and terminated on July 24, 1661.

The objections made by the Presbyterians were all carefully weighed, and when not entertained the scriptural reasons given for the decision.

The Presbyterians argued against kneeling at the reception of the elements being enjoined by rubric.

The Churchmen replied that it was the most decent posture for men about to receive such Heavenly gifts, but in the order for kneeling they introduced the explanation "that

thereby no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any corporeal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood. For the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were Idolatry, to be abhorred by all faithful Christians); and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here, it being against the truth for Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one."

This rubric, commonly called the Black Rubric, was adopted from the similar rubric in the Second Book of Edward VI., and even then there was no ecclesiastical authority for its presence. It was omitted in the Elizabethan Prayer Book. In 1662 it was reintroduced with one very significant alteration that while the former rubric denied adoration "unto any real or essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood," this denies adoration "unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood." If the Caroline rubric did not please the extreme wing of the Puritan party, it certainly cut at the root of the Popish doctrine.

The Papal doctrine, as defined by Bishop Bonner in a formal set of articles proposed by him for adoption in the first year of Queen Elizabeth (1558) was as follows: In "the sacrament of the altar were present *realiter*, under the kinds of bread and wine, the natural Body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also the natural Blood," and that after the consecration there remained not the substances of bread and wine.

The Council of Trent in its Session XIII., Canons 1 and 2, definitely promulgated the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and defined that doctrine as being the "conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the Body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the Blood."

The Caroline divines, by the adoption of the Black Rubric, after the Savoy Conference, certainly went out of their way to condemn Romish error; and to maintain, as recent Roman controversialists have asserted, that the addition of the words "for the office and work of a priest" were so added to minimize Roman objections, would be to accuse the Caroline Churchmen of inconsequence and gross stupidity.

The insertion of the words "lawful minister" in the baptismal rubric was also made as a result of this conference. The Presbyterians strongly objected against women baptizing—a ministry of baptizing sanctioned by the Romans. The insertion of the words "lawful minister" was thus another attack against Roman practice. The Black Rubric struck at what was admitted by all sides to be the cardinal point of difference between Anglicans and Romans, and the addition of a few words in the Form of the Ordinal would certainly not have appeased them. Indeed, the very words added have been taken by some Roman writers as making matters worse from their point of view. One of their foremost champions, Estcourt, is in direct conflict with Leo XIII. on this matter. Leo says: "But even if this addition could give to the form its due signification, it was introduced too late." (*A. C. 66.*) Estcourt, with reference to these identical words, declares "the due sense and right intention are absolutely excluded from the rite."

We leave Canon Estcourt and Leo XIII. to reconcile their very divergent views. The true reason why the words were added was not to validate a form which no Anglican had ever doubted, or to propitiate Romanist writers, but to meet the objections of the Presbyterians, who said that in the forms of ordaining Priests and deacons no special distinction was made between the office and work of a Bishop and that of a Priest; and also to remove any possible support in the Prayer Book in favour of their contention as to the identity of the Episcopate and the Priesthood or Presbyterate. "We do not find in Scripture any ordination to the office of a Bishop differing from the ordination of an elder," so Smetymnus had declared, on behalf of the Presbyterians in 1641.*

The Caroline Divines added the words in question, wishing, as Dr. Prideaux has said, in a letter dated November 25, 1687, "to make things clearer and more free from cavil and objection."

Cosin, Bishop of Durham, was the chairman of the committee to prepare the Book of Common Prayer, appointed by Convocation on November 21, 1661, this being the first session after the close of the Savoy Conference. Sancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was at that time Chaplain to Bishop Cosin, and helped considerably in the preparation of the new book; in fact, he was directed, on the 8th March, 1662, to superintend the printing of it.

The corrections of the book as presented on November 21, 1661, by Bishops Cosin and Wren, are all of them in the handwriting of Sancroft. Among these MSS. corrections occurs the following: In the ordination form for

* "Cardwell's Conferences," p. 388.

Bishops, after the words "Holy Ghost," should be inserted, "by whom the office and authority of a Bishop is now committed unto thee," which is evidently the first draft of the form as finally adopted by Convocation.

This is the plain history of the case. After the addition of the words, the Romans turned round and said that the addition had been prompted by a desire to validate the form. And it was not till 1662, after the addition of these words, that the first pamphlet from the Roman side came out containing these childish accusations.

To proceed. The next sentence of the Bull reads :

"But even if this addition could give to the form its due signification it was introduced too late, as a century had elapsed since the adoption of the Edwardine Ordinal, for as the Hierarchy had become extinct there remained no power of ordaining." (A. C. 66.)

If Anglicans had never had any true orders, and if the form had originally been so seriously defective that its use could, under no circumstances, have conveyed Holy Orders, then we grant that an addition to the original defective form, after a lapse of a century, could by no means have covered the long breach of continuity.

In the first place, what is a hierarchy? We presume that the term is used by the writers of the Bull in the sense in which it was defined by the Council of Trent, as "consisting of bishops, priests and ministers." In other words, the threefold ministry. Now when did the threefold ministry cease to exist in England?

Rome admits that there was such a ministry in Queen Mary's reign.

Did it cease to exist in any subsequent reign? If so, at what date?

If by the term hierarchy, the Episcopate only is meant, when did the Anglican Episcopate cease?

Anglicans have ever recognized a threefold succession as necessary to a valid Episcopate. Succession in place, succession in orders, succession in doctrine.

Now the present Bishops of London, Winchester, Peterborough and other English sees, and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, have succeeded each other in place without a break since their sees were founded.

They have thus succeeded each other with greater regularity than the Bishops of Rome have succeeded their first Bishop, Linus.

Indeed, to be accurate, the Bishops of Rome cannot claim any regularity of succession of place. Their succession of place has often been disputed, and that, not only by numerous rivals and opponents, but by learned Roman canonists, and by the greater portions of Christendom at the time. Men were born and passed away without having been able to know for a certainty during their lifetime who was the real Bishop of Rome.

We believe that there has been a succession of Catholic doctrine ever since the foundation of Christianity in the British Isles. The Romans may dispute this, but we are not fearful of proving that succession when the particular issue is raised.

Their own theologians, nay, their own Popes, and their canonized saints, have more than once proclaimed that the succession of Apostolic doctrine had been broken in, if not lost to the See of Rome.

As to the third succession, that in Holy Orders, we have never heard that the Romans ever questioned more than one link in our long succession—that link being the consecration of Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559.

The Bull, however, in its Fifth Section has already admitted that consecration, while denying its validity on the sole ground of “defect of form and intention.”

The Roman Court has therefore staked its whole on that one cast—the validity of Parker’s consecration in so far as “form and intention” are concerned.

Should no “defect of form and intention” be found, then it will follow that there has been no break in either of the twofold successions of place and orders of the Anglican hierarchy, or threefold ministry.

The conclusion of the first part of Section 7 of the Bull, which deals with the validity of the ordination of Priests according to the Edwardine Ordinal, is as follows :

“In vain has help been recently sought for the plea of the validity of orders from the other prayers of the same Ordinal. For to put aside other reasons which show this to be insufficient for the purpose in the Anglican rite, let this argument suffice for all: from them has been deliberately removed whatever sets forth the dignity and office of the priesthood in the Catholic rite. That form consequently cannot be considered apt or sufficient for the Sacrament which omits what it ought essentially to signify.” (*A. C. 67-69.*)

For ourselves, we are perfectly satisfied, and so has the Reformed Church of England ever been satisfied with the form of ordination, whether in the Edwardine, Elizabethan

or Caroline Books. We are not aware that the Church has ever "recently," whatever period that may refer to, or at any other time, sought for the validity of her orders in the other prayers of the Ordinal. Writers may have taken care to show that the form in the English Ordinal, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, etc., was really not the most primitive, and there may have been a desire on the part of some to return to a precatory form as being more primitive than the imperative.

Among the alterations and amendments proposed in 1689 was the following:

"Whereas, it was the constant practice of the Church to ordain by prayer, which practice continued for many ages, and that the pronouncing these words ['Receive the Holy Ghost'] in the imperative mood was brought into the office of ordination in the darkest days of Popery, it is humbly submitted to the Convocation, whether it be not more suitable unto the general rule the Church of England has gone upon of conforming herself to the primitive Church, to put these words into some such form as this: 'Pour down, O Father of Lights, the Holy Ghost on this Thy servant, for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto him by the Imposition of our hands, that whose sins he does forgive they may be forgiven, and whose sins he does retain, they may be retained,' " etc.*

There may also have been a disposition on the part of some writers to guard against the error held by others that the imperative form was essential and primitive, and there-

* *Churton*, p. iv.

fore to emphasize the value of the accompanying prayers. All this we admit, but that is a very different thing from denying or doubting the validity of the Anglican imperative form, or seeking for the validity of the Ordination in the other prayers in the Ordinal. The real truth of the matter is, that it is Roman writers and not Anglican writers who have sought for the validity of their own orders in some of the other prayers in their Ordinal, rather than in the imperative form commonly held as the validating form. They had need to, as we hope to show hereafter.

We pass on, therefore, to what the Bull magisterially pronounces as the argument "that is to suffice for all."

"From them (*i.e.*, the prayers) has been deliberately removed whatever sets forth the dignity and office of the priesthood in the Catholic rite." (*A. C. 68.*)

Again we emphatically reiterate that if such an assertion were true, the fact would have nothing whatever to do with the form. Whatever may set forth the dignity and office in the other prayers may be edifying, helpful and useful, but cannot possibly give virtue to the form. A child is baptized. It is fitting that the baptism be surrounded with much that sets forth the dignity and office of the Christian; but the child hurriedly baptized by a Priest, with due matter and form, in some poor garret and with nothing setting forth the dignity and office, is yet as validly baptized as the one to whom the Sacrament is administered with the full rites of the Church. It is interesting to note, in connection with the argument as to the force of *rite, recte, minus rite,* and the difference between *the accustomed form of the Church and the form of the Church,* the wording of the cer-

tification which the Parish Priest has to give in the case of persons privately baptized.

Let us, however, examine this last dictum as if it had some weight, and see if it has any truth behind it. The dictum is that from the prayers of the Edwardine Ordinal has "been deliberately removed whatever sets forth the dignity and office of the priesthood in the Catholic rite."

Let us understand our terms.

"Priesthood in the Catholic rite." The Bishop of Rome cannot mean here the Roman Catholic rite, because he has himself drawn a distinction in sentence 13 between Roman and Catholic. He says that the examination into Anglican orders was committed to a certain number of men who met under the presidency of one of the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church.

By Catholic rite, he evidently cannot refer to the Holy Roman rite, but to the rite of the Universal Church.

Let us accordingly see whether it is true that the Anglican Church deliberately removed whatever sets forth the dignity and office of the Priesthood according to the Catholic rite from the prayers in her Ordinal.

CHAPTER II.

ANGLICAN ORDINAL FOR PRIESTS.

IF "STEWARD OF THE MYSTERIES OF GOD" MAY BE THOUGHT A GOOD GENERAL DEFINITION OF SACERDOS, OR A TITLE EQUIVALENT TO PRIEST. . . .
*Waterland.**

AN EXAMINATION of the prayers in the Edwardine Ordinal, as revised under Elizabeth, will be the best answer to the charges of Leo XIII.

At the outset it may be well to say a few words on the variations between the Edwardine and Elizabethan Ordinals.

The Ordinal of 1549 was revised under Edward VI. in 1552, and again under Elizabeth in 1559.

The words and ceremonies of the actual ordination in the Ordinal of 1552 were adopted, without variation, in 1559 as to Priests and also as to Bishops.

* Vol. VIII., p. 343.

But the Ordinal of 1552 differed somewhat from that of 1549.

In the case of Priests :

In 1549 along with the words giving authority to preach the Word of God and to minister the Sacraments, the Bible and the chalice or cup with the bread were delivered.

But in 1552 the Bible only was delivered.

In the case of Bishops :

In 1549 the Bible was, with certain words, laid upon the neck of the newly consecrated Bishop, and the pastoral staff was delivered with certain other words.

But in 1552 the Bible only was delivered, the two sets of words previously used, as to the Bible and staff, being amalgamated and all used.

The words accompanying the laying-on of hands are different in the case of Priests to what they are in the case of Bishops. But in all the three Ordinals, of 1549, 1552 and 1559, the words accompanying the laying-on of hands for Priests are identical; and the words accompanying the laying-on of hands for Bishops are also identical in all three books.

Under these circumstances we refer to the Ordinal of Elizabeth alone, for the sake of simplicity, as being for our purpose identical with the Second Book of Edward VI., and also since the writer of the Bull makes his attack on the revisions subsequent to 1549.

At present we deal with the Ordinal for the Priesthood only. In all the other particulars to which we now refer the books of 1552 and 1559 are identical.

The very first rubric of the Ordinal refers to the Exhor-

tation or Sermon which is to be delivered, "declaring the duty and office of such as come to be admitted ministers, how necessary such orders are in the Church of Christ, and also how people ought to esteem them in their vocation."

An option of two Epistles is given—either from the twentieth chapter of the Acts, containing St. Paul's affectionate farewell counsel to the "elders of the congregation" at Ephesus; or from the third chapter of the First Epistle to Timothy, containing the great Apostle's rule of life for the ministry and also for guiding the Chief Pastor in the choice of fit persons for the sacred ministry.

A choice of three Gospels is given—either the conclusion of St. Matthew's Gospel containing our Lord's great commission, "All power is given unto me, in heaven and earth. Go ye, therefore," etc., etc.; or from the tenth chapter of St. John, where our Lord lays down the duty of the shepherds of the sheep; or from the twentieth chapter of the same Gospel, where our Lord, after His Resurrection, gave the power of binding and loosing to His Church.

What other portions out of the whole of Holy Writ could have been selected where the "dignity and office of the Priesthood" could have been better shown forth?

Let the Bishop of Rome name them.

After the Gospel, was sung the long form of the Veni Creator.

The long form may not be as symmetrical as the shorter and more familiar one, yet it contains petitions more appropriate than the shorter one. For example:

Thou in Thy gifts art manifold,
Whereby Christ's Church doth stand,

In faithful hearts writing Thy Law,
The finger of God's hand.
According to Thy promise made,
Thou givest speech of grace,
That through Thy help, the praise of God
May sound in every place.
O Holy Ghost, into our wits
Send down Thy heavenly light,
Kindle our hearts with fervent love,
To serve God day and night.
Strength and 'stablish all our weakness,
So feeble and so frail,
That neither flesh, the world, nor devil,
Against us do prevail.
Put back our enemy far from us,
And grant us to obtain
Peace in our hearts with God and man
Without grudge or disdain.

Indeed, the more this anthem is read, bearing in mind for whom the petitions are offered, the more impossible is it to conceive petitions more appropriate for those about to receive the burden and dignity of the Priesthood. While the Roman Pontifical may contain much that is beautiful, yet it would be hard to name a hymn or anthem where the dignity and office of the Priesthood in the Catholic Church is better shown forth.

The *Veni Creator* ended, the Archdeacon, following the immemorial English usage, presents to the Bishop "all them that shall receive the order of Priesthood that day," saying, "Reverend Father in God, I present unto you these

persons present to be admitted to the order of Priesthood." It is well to remember that the only equivalent term of Priesthood in the Latin language is *Sacerdotium*, and when the Prayer Book was translated into Latin, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, that was the term used. The following passages may be cited:

In the Benedicite, "O all ye Priests of the Lord"—"Benedicite Sacerdotes Domini." In the rubric before the Commandments, "Then shall the Priest rehearse"—"Tunc recitatibit Sacerdos." "After the collects the Priest shall read the Epistle"—"Post hac collectas, Sacerdos ac." In the visitation of the sick, "The Priest entering"—"Ingrediens Sacerdos," etc., etc.

The Ordinal was not translated into Latin, so we cannot quote officially the Latin equivalent for the terms in the Ordinal.

The Bishop then solemnly warns the Archdeacon as to whether the candidates presented are apt and meet for their learning and godly conversation to exercise their ministry duly to the honour of God, and edifying of His Church.

On the Archdeacon's assurance that he has enquired of them, and examined them, and thinks them so to be, the Bishop must solemnly appeal to the laity to declare if they know of any impediment or crime in the men standing before him, whom, he says, "we purpose, God willing, to receive this day unto the holy office of the Priesthood." Does the Bishop of Rome know of any better way than private examination of the candidates, and public appeal in open church, to prevent the intrusion of unlearned and unfit men

to the dignity and office of the Priesthood? Hardly, since the Roman Ordinal contains a similar appeal and reference to private examination.

No impediment being alleged, the candidates are commended to the prayers of the people, and the Litany is said. Then comes the following collect:

“ Almighty God, giver of all good things, Which by Thy Holy Spirit hast appointed diverse orders of ministers in Thy Church: Mercifully behold these Thy servants called to the office of Priesthood, and replenish them so with the truth of Thy doctrine, and innocency of life, that both by word and good example, they may faithfully serve Thee in this office, to the glory of Thy Name and profit of Thy congregation, through the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.”

This prayer acknowledges the divine institution of the three-fold ministry, and invokes God by reason of that His institution on behalf of the candidates for the office of Priesthood.

Can the Bishop of Rome take any higher ground for invoking God on behalf of the candidates presented to him for ordination to the Priesthood?

Then follows an exhortation, addressed by the Bishop to the candidates, couched in the most solemn terms of which the English language is capable, setting forth “of what dignity and of how great importance this office is whereunto ye be called,” and again how they are to have “in remembrance into how high a dignity, and to how chargeable an office ye be called, that is to say, to be the Mes-

sengers, the Watchmen, the Pastors * and the Stewards of the Lord."

"Your office is both of so great excellency and of so great difficulty."

In despair, we ask the Bishop of Rome has he ever read the Elizabethan Ordinal? The most charitable conclusion is certainly that he never has, else how came he to make so false a statement that "whatever sets forth the dignity and office of the Priesthood" has been deliberately removed from the prayers of the Elizabethan Ordinal?

The exhortation is too long to be introduced in the body of the argument, but we commend its careful perusal to all our readers. It will be found in its place in the Elizabethan Ordinal, reprinted in the Appendix. The exhortation ended, the candidates are solemnly asked if they believe that they have the inward and outward call to "the ministry of the Priesthood."

Several questions are then put to the candidates relating to their future conduct as Priests. These, together with the replies, form the sevenfold priestly vows. The first of them is, that he will give "faithful diligence always so to minister the doctrine and sacraments, and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this realm hath received the same according to the commandments of God." Following upon these vows comes a prayer that God, who has given the candidate the will to do "all these things," may give him the strength and power to perform them.

After a pause for the private prayers of the congregation

* It is instructive to note that the title "Pastor," which really belongs to the Episcopate, was subsequently omitted from this exhortation.

comes the final collect before the laying-on of hands. The collect, after a recital that His dear beloved Son, Jesus Christ, after He "was ascended into heaven, sent abroad into the world His Apostles, prophets, evangelists, doctors and pastors," renders thanks to God, our Father, that He has vouchsafed "to call these Thy servants here present, to the *same office and ministry* of the salvation of mankind." Can the Bishop of Rome bless our Father for a higher ministry?

Then follows the Imposition of hands upon each candidate separately, by the Bishop with the Priests present, the Bishop using the very words of Christ when He ordained His Apostles:

"Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained; and be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His Holy Sacraments: In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

Each candidate having received the gift of the Holy Ghost, and having been made a Priest, then receives jurisdiction from the Bishop as follows, who, giving into his hand the Bible, says:

"Take thou authority to preach the Word of God and to minister the Holy Sacraments in this congregation where thou shalt be so appointed."

After which the Creed is sung, and the remainder of the Holy Communion Service is said. The *Civiltà Cattolica* makes the astonishing statement that the Holy Communion Service "is found outside of the rite of ordination,"* in the Anglican Ordinal. It really is waste of time to point

**Brandi*, p. 59.

out such extraordinary blunders. The ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons is in the Reformed English Church a part of the service of the Altar, and inseparable from the administration of the Eucharist. From beginning to end the whole of the Anglican service is instinct with the dignity and office of the Priesthood. Neither the Bishop, nor the candidate, nor the congregation are for one single moment allowed to forget what a "high dignity and chargeable office" is here conveyed. Upon the consideration of the ceremonial we have not entered, because the Bishop of Rome has not alluded to it. His charge is, that whatever sets forth the dignity and office of the Priesthood in the Catholic rite is deliberately removed from the prayers in the Edwardine Ordinal. That charge is untrue, and cannot be established.

The Bishop of Rome ought, in the name of that Apostolic charity which he so frequently invokes, to retract such a statement.

A comparison of the ordination to the Diaconate might be made with that to the Priesthood, showing by contrast in what higher reverence and esteem the office and work of the Priesthood is held by the Church of England, but it has been deemed sufficient to present the positive aspect of the Priests' Ordinal as it stands.

This work, moreover, is not intended to exhaust all the arguments against the Bull, entitled by a curious irony *Apostolicae Curæ*, but only to controvert a few of its more salient statements.

CHAPTER III.

THE PRESENT ROMAN ORDINAL.

IT IS CERTAIN THAT THE SUBJECT OF THE CEREMONY, WHO WAS NOT A PRIEST AT THE BEGINNING, IS A PRIEST AT THE END, BUT THE DIFFICULTY IS TO TELL AT WHAT PART OF THE CEREMONY HE BECAME A PRIEST.—*Hunter.**

CONFIDENT in the strength of their position, Anglicans have hitherto considered that the Roman Ordinal was a matter which affected only that Church. If Romans were satisfied with it, it was not for others to criticise it. There has been, no doubt, also that good-natured indifference to all foreign customs which characterizes the British. The Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*, however, not only invites a comparison between the Roman and the Anglican Ordin-

* "Outlines of Dogmatic Theology," Vol. III., p. 378, by Sylvester J. Hunter, S. J.

nals, but actually forces it on Anglicans. The tone taken by the Bishop of Rome in regard to his Ordinal is so lofty, and the Anglican is treated with such patronizing contempt, that it is, we frankly own, with some trepidation that we take up the Pontifical. This august book must be so ritually correct, so definite in its rubrics, so clear in its arrangement, so instinct with the dignity and office of the Priesthood, or true Christian *Sacerdotium*, in one word, so immeasurably superior to the Anglican Ordinal, that the latter must stand self-condemned by the comparison. Still we have undertaken to meet each issue squarely, so we accept the challenge, and open the book.

We notice that it is the Ordinal as revised under Clement VIII., on February 10, 1596; though Clement alludes to the action taken by Pius V. Pius V. was the Pope who excommunicated Queen Elizabeth in 1571.

In the first place we find in the Ordinal, Services for the Ordination of Doorkeepers, Readers, Exorcists, Acolytes, under the title of Minor Orders; then under the title of Sacred Orders we find those of Subdeacon, Deacon, Presbyter, followed by the Service for the Consecration of Bishops.

We may point out in passing that in the Roman Catholic Church a Bishop does not apparently belong to the three-fold ministry of sacred orders, as it is here made up of Subdeacon, Deacon and Presbyter. This is certainly not the Ignatian Threefold Ministry,* nor that of the primitive Church, nor does it come under the term of Hierarchy as defined by the Council of Trent. This exclusion of the

* Without these, Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, a Church is not called.—*Epistle to the Trallians.*

Bishop from the threefold ministry, and this inclusion of the subdeacon is worthy of very grave consideration, though it would extend these pages to undue length to enter into that question. Let it suffice to remember that subdeacons are not mentioned by name at all till the third century, and that it was not till the middle ages that they were promoted to the rank of "Major Orders," and so came to be included among the "Sacred Orders." As Leo. XIII. has confined his criticisms to the Edwardine Ordinal of Priests and Bishops, so will we examine the Roman Ordinal in respect only to these two sacred ministers.

The Pontifical contains two complete Ordinals, one for use when there are more candidates than one, the other for use when there is only one. Both are printed in full, for what especial purpose it is hard to say, since they appear to be alike, with the exception of some fuller rubrical directions in the one for several candidates. The Ordinal on which our comments are based is that for the ordination of one candidate. The writer is indebted to Canon W. R. Churton, D.D., of King's College, Cambridge, for the following note on the subject: "The duplicate services must be an innovation. The old editions have one service for each, the headings being singular for the major orders, as '*de consecratione electi in Episcopum*,' or, '*de ordinatione subdiaconi*', and plural for the minor orders, e.g., '*de ordinatione exorcistarum*'."

The Bull, as we have seen, insists on the dignity and office of the Priesthood or *Sacerdotium*. It is singular that the term used in the Roman Ordinal is that of Presbyter, which in English has commonly been rendered as Elder.

It is to the Presbyterate "*De Ordinatione Presbyteri*," that the successor to the deacon is ordained. We should be justified in translating this, "Of the Ordering of Elders."

The minister ordaining is also not called Episcopus or Bishop, but Pontifex. If the Reformed Church of England had adopted such terms, if she had called her threefold ministry by the terms of Deacon, Elder and Pontiff, what endless gibes would have been directed at her, and how she would have been reviled for departing from primitive and Catholic practice in her terminology. How she would have been told that a Church discarding the Catholic signification had thereby set aside the thing signified, and that hence she had neither Priest nor Bishop. How easy to have conciliated the Presbyterians in 1662 by copying Roman terminology and changing Priest into Presbyter. To change Priest into Presbyter has been the very first act of all separatists from the Anglican Communion.

The Archdeacon presents the candidate to the Pontiff : "Most Reverend Father, Holy Mother, the Church Catholic, requests that you should ordain this deacon present, to the charge of the Presbyterate." The Pontiff asks : "Know you him to be worthy?" The Archdeacon replies : "So far as human frailty is permitted to know, I both know and testify him to be worthy of the charge of this office."

Whereupon the Pontiff charges the clergy and people to state if they know of any impediment against the candidate. A comparison of the charge will be in favour of the Edwardine form. No crime or impediment being alleged, the Pontiff admonishes the candidate in an exhortation, which will be found in full in its proper place in the Appendix.

A comparison of this exhortation with that of the Edwardine Ordinal will certainly be in favour of the greater dignity of the latter. One of the differences which will be noted is, that at the beginning of the Roman exhortation the duties of the Priesthood are set forth. This, be it observed, is the first use of the word "Sacerdos" or Priest as applied to the candidate.

"For it belongs to the Priest (*Sacerdotem etenim opportet*) to offer, to bless, to govern, to preach, and to baptize."

After this a Litany containing invocation of the Saints is said, with the suffrages in behalf of the candidate ; the candidate having as yet made no vows or responses; the rubric directs that the Pontiff, standing with his mitre on (the candidate remaining kneeling), is to place both his hands on the head of the candidate, without saying anything ("*nihil dicens*"), and after him the other Priests present are to do likewise.

Here ends the first Imposition of hands—an Imposition of hands without any accompanying prayer, or, be it noted, any special prayers in regard to the person about to be ordained to the Presbyterate. It is true that in the Litany there are special suffrages, which the Pontiff is ordered to say himself for the candidate, but in those suffrages he is only called "this" or "these elect." If Deacons have been previously ordained, at the same service, those suffrages refer just as much to the Deacon-elect as to the Priest-elect. What does this silent Imposition of hands mean? Imposition of hands has ever been considered in the Catholic Church as being the "matter," and Leo XIII. rightly, in the opening part of Section 7, lays down that the matter in the Sacrament of Orders is Imposition of hands.

The question arises, Is the candidate ordained to the Priesthood by this silent Imposition of hands? If so, then it must be held that an ordination in which the matter is dissociated from any form of words is a valid ordination.

The Papal Bull has declared "that form cannot be considered apt or sufficient for the sacrament which omits what it ought essentially to signify." (*A. C. 69.*) Now it is possible that in Christendom there are, or may have been, forms so obscurely worded that they convey nothing definite; but some form, no matter how obscurely worded, must be better than no form at all. This is indisputable. After this silent Imposition of hands, the rubric proceeds. "That being done, the Pontiff and Priests, holding their right hands stretched out over him, while the Pontiff alone, standing with his mitre on, says: *Oremus,** 'Dearly beloved brethren, let us beseech God, the Father Almighty, that He will multiply His heavenly gifts upon this His servant, whom He has chosen to the office of the Presbyterate, and that that which he undertakes by His favour, he may fulfil by His help, through Christ our Lord. Amen.'"

The Pontiff here takes off his mitre.

It may be argued since we have a silent Imposition of hands preceded by special, though vague, suffrages in the Litany, and also an extension of hands accompanying an

* It has been objected by a recent Roman writer (Barnes, p. 35) that the prayer in the English Ordinal, "Almighty God and Heavenly Father," is not really a prayer "for the ordinand at all, but for the spectators." To this prayer of the Roman Ordinal the stronger objection can be urged that it is not even a prayer at all, but an address to the spectators, and yet this prayer might be considered as the "form" accompanying the matter, in this case the extension of hands, which Morinus calls the second Imposition.

address to the faithful which might be called a ratification of the election of the candidate to the Presbyterate that this will suffice to give us the “form and matter” which Leo XIII. declares to be essential; and that the candidate became a Presbyter during the silent Imposition or during the extension of hands. A note of the Congregation of Rites of 1872* certainly leads one to take the view that the ordination (if there has been one) took place during the extension of hands, since the prayer accompanies the extension. And this view is apparently favoured by another ruling of the Congregation of Rites, as late as December 4, 1896.† According to the rubric, however, which succeeds this extension of hands, he is still a candidate, “*ordinandus*,” a man to be ordained. In this case then, taking the service by itself, the man has become a Presbyter. Taking the rubrics, he has not. What is he, then?

After the above prayer the Pontiff turns to the candidate (*ad ordinandum*) and says, “*Exaudi Nos*”; “Hear us, we beseech Thee, O Lord our God, and over this Thy servant pour the benediction of the Holy Spirit and the power of the priestly grace (*Gratiæ sacerdotalis virtutem*),

* “Tum Pontifex tum Sacerdotes qui adstant, vix facta impositione utriusque manus, statim dexteras manus extendunt easque sic extensas tenent donec Episcopus Orationem absolverit. S.R.C. 31 Augusti, 1872.”

“Both the Pontiff and Priests who are present, after imposing both hands, extend their right hands and hold them extended until the Bishop has finished the prayer.” See Appendix xxiii, for this ruling.

From this rule it is evident that keeping the hands extended during the prayer was not the universal custom so late as 1872, if even a Roman custom at all.

† See Appendix xxiii. for this very noteworthy decision.

so that Thou mayest follow with a perpetual outpouring of Thy gifts him whom we present to be consecrated in the sight of Thy goodness, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, who liveth and reigneth," etc.

A comparison of this prayer with the Anglican collect, "*Almighty God, the giver of all good things,*" will certainly show that whatever relates to the dignity and office of the Priesthood is better expressed in the latter.

According to the tenour of this last prayer, and of the subsequent ones, the candidate is certainly not yet ordained or consecrated. Then, preceded by some versicles, follows a prayer which we transcribe at length, because some Roman theologians, following their great writer on Holy Orders, Morinus, have regarded this very prayer as the "form." Hence it deserves close attention. The Latin text will be found in the Appendix, under "Forms of Ordination." The rendering which we give is taken from Lynch's "Rite of Ordination," p. 59.

"It is truly meet and just and right and available to salvation that we should always, and in all places, give thanks to Thee,

"Domine Sancte, Pater Omnipotens. O Holy Lord, Father Almighty, Eternal God, source of every honour, and dispenser of all dignities, through Whom all things prosper, by Whom all things are made firm ; Who dost continually increase and perfect the growth of our rational nature in a most orderly and suitable manner. Hence, also, have grown up the degrees of priesthood and the office of Levites instituted by mystic symbols. Hence, having appointed Bishops (*Pontifices*) to rule Thy people, Thou didst choose

as their companions and helpers men next in rank and dignity. Thus, in the desert, didst Thou spread the spirit of Moses by means of the wisdom of the seventy elders, through whose assistance he governed with ease countless multitudes of Thy people. Thus, also, didst Thou communicate to Eleazar and Ithamar, the sons of Aaron, their father's fulness of power, that the number of priests might suffice for the service of frequent rites and saving sacrifices. So also, O Lord, didst Thou associate with the Apostles of Thy Son teachers of the faith, through whom they have filled the whole world with their successful preaching. Wherefore, we beseech Thee, O Lord, grant also the same helps to our weakness, which, inasmuch as it is greater than theirs, stands the so much more in need of such assistance. Bestow then, we beseech Thee, Almighty Father, the dignity of the Priesthood (literally Presbyterate) upon these Thy servants ; renew in them the spirit of holiness that they may receive from Thee, O God, this office next to ours in dignity, and that the example of their lives may be for others an incentive to virtue. May they be prudent fellow-workers with us ; may the spirit of all justice shine forth in them, that when they come to render an account of the stewardship entrusted to them, they may receive the reward of bliss everlasting, through the same Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth in the unity of the same Holy Ghost, God, world without end. Amen."

If this prayer is the "form," and the previous Imposition the "matter," then all we can say is, that this form cannot be considered apt or sufficient for the Sacrament which

omits what it ought essentially to signify ; that is, if we follow the ruling of Leo XIII., that the form must signify the sacrament, in this case the order conferred. Reading this form dispassionately, what does it signify or purport to convey ? Men out of the next rank and dignity chosen to be companions and helpers to the Pontiffs or Bishops, as the Seventy Elders were to Moses. Men to whom the fulness of priestly power is to be given, as it was to the sons of Aaron ; that they are to be "teachers of the Apostolic faith," and "successful preachers" ; and that they may receive the dignity of the Presbyterate, which is next in dignity to the Episcopate, and, being prudent fellow-workers with the Bishop, be found faithful stewards.

All of which is most beautiful, and undoubtedly based on ancient models, yet it contains no distinct allusion to any Christian Sacrament, and it is only by implication, through reference to Jewish sacrifices and to the stewardship entrusted to the newly made Presbyters, that the functions of the Christian Priesthood are alluded to.

The Bishop of Rome, in this same Section 7, which we are now considering, has stated that the chief power of the Christian Priesthood is to consecrate and offer the true Body and Blood of our Lord, and that this power ought to be expressed in the form. While we do not agree with his definition, for which disagreement we will give our reasons further on, as we do not wish to unduly interrupt the thread of this argument ; yet if Leo XIII. is right, that the form, to render it valid, should signify the power of consecrating and offering, then certainly men ordained under the Ro-

man Ordinal are not validly ordained, if this prayer be the form, as Morinus and his followers contend that it is. For this prayer, "O Holy Lord, Father Almighty," certainly does not contain that power, nor any allusion to it, nor any allusion to any Christian Sacrament at all; nor, if the Council of Trent be any authority, does it convey "character."

On the conclusion of this prayer, the Pontiff, arranging the candidate's stole in the form of a cross, says:

"Receive the yoke of the Lord, for His yoke is easy and His burden light."

Then, placing on the shoulders of the candidate the chasuble, he says:

"Receive the priestly vestment by which charity is signified; for God is powerful to make you grow in charity and every perfect work." After which follows a prayer imploring God's benediction upon this servant "whom we dedicate to the honour of the Presbyterate." The prayer begs that the candidate may have the several virtues, "that he may keep pure and unspotted the gift of his ministry, and that through the service of Thy people* he may transform the bread and the wine into the Body and Blood of Thy Son by stainless benediction."

Hereon follows the *Veni Creator* in the shortened form, after which occurs the anointing of the candidate's hands by the Pontiff, saying meanwhile:

* In the Ordinal for one Presbyter, the reading is "*per obsequium plebis Tua*"; in that for several, the reading is "*in obsequium plebis Tua*." The former is said to be the more ancient.

"Vouchsafe, O Lord, to consecrate and to sanctify these hands by this unction and by our benediction," and

"That whatsoever they shall bless, may be blessed; and whatsoever they shall consecrate, may be consecrated and sanctified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The Pontiff then presents to the candidate the chalice containing wine and water, and the paten containing a Host. The candidate takes the paten between the index and middle finger, touching the cup of the chalice and the paten at the same time, without separating his hands, while the Pontiff says to each :

"*Accipe potestatem.* Receive power to offer sacrifice to God and to celebrate Masses as well for the living as for the dead. In the name of the Lord."

This done, the candidate (*ordinandus*, the one to be ordained) rises and makes his reverence and the Pontiff receives some ritual instructions and is directed to continue the Mass as far as the offertory. The rubric continues : "In the meanwhile the ordained Priest stands," and washes his hands according to directions given.

Here then the candidate is for the first time called an ordained Priest, "*ordinatus Sacerdos*."

When did he become ordained? If the strict letter of the rubric be followed, it must have been during some period subsequent to the reception of the power to offer sacrifice, etc., for after those words he is still called "*ordinandus*," or the man about to be ordained, *i.e.*, the candidate.

It is after the delivery of the chalice and paten, with the accompanying words, that he is called "*ordinandus*." It is between his bow or reverence to the Pontiff and the

continuation of the Mass to the offertory that he apparently at some unspecified moment becomes an "ordained Priest," "*ordinatus*."

Henceforth the rubric always so refers to him, and no longer as the candidate.

Certainly it must be very puzzling to any man to know at what period in time he becomes a Priest. However, when the offertory is reached, the ordained Priest goes through a ceremony of presenting a lighted candle to the Pontiff seated in his chair. This performed, the Mass is ordered to be proceeded with, the rubric directing,

"But the ordained Priest, kneeling behind the Pontiff, has the missal book in front of him, placed on the book rest, saying: "Receive, Holy Father," etc., and all the rest of Mass, as the Pontiff says it, who until he comes to the *Secreta* should speak slowly and somewhat louder than usual, so that the ordained Priest can say everything with him, and especially the words of consecration, which are to be said at the very same moment by the ordained one, as that in which they are said by the Pontiff."

Strangely enough, the man is evidently in the eyes of the rubrics a co-celebrant, yet he communicates only under one species, the Host only being given to him. And though a chalice containing wine is given him, and he partakes thereof, it is expressly stated in the explanatory rubric, in the Ordinal for several presbyters, "one of the Pontiff's assistants stands near the corner of the altar, on the Epistle side, holding a chalice, not the one with which the Pontiff celebrated, but another containing wine, and a clean napkin in his hands, when those who have communicated approach,

one by one, and purify themselves, wiping their mouths, and then return to their places."

This rather throws doubt on the theory that he must somehow, by this time, have become a Priest or else he would not be allowed to celebrate. Evidently, however, his co-celebration is of a very imperfect kind. It is limited to the mere repetition of the words at a distance. He does not bless, he performs no manual acts, he breaks no bread, he receives not as a celebrant Priest. From all which it follows that he really does not co-celebrate, or celebrate at all. His actions have no virtue. The Bishop alone is the consecrator and celebrant. The words of the candidate-Priest have no more power or virtue over the elements of bread and wine than those of any person in the congregation who should choose to repeat to himself the words with the Priest at the altar. Hence, therefore, he receives not as a celebrant, but as one of the faithful. Not the Body and Blood, but the Body only. The fact that he repeats the words of institution with the celebrant does not therefore absolutely prove that he is even then fully ordained. A simple reason for the origin of this repetition of the words of institution may perhaps be suggested. It is a matter of notoriety that, in the middle ages, the greatest possible importance was attached to the recitation of the words *Hoc est Corpus*, etc., and that it was believed that the words acted as a kind of a charm, and that any variation from the given form would invalidate the consecration. The belief in the illapse of the Holy Spirit had in the West died out except among a few rare scholars. The Roman Church, having to deal with candidates and Priests of the grossest ig-

norance, very wisely, we confess, insisted that at any rate they should know the actual words of the Institution by heart, and they should repeat them "with one breath," so as to avoid any possibility of their making a mistake. The rule that the candidate should repeat "especially the words of consecration," may have been framed for one purpose, among others, that the Church should have the assurance that he could follow the consecration prayer, and especially that he knew the actual consecrating words.

The following responsory is then said:

"I will not call you servants, but My friends, because you have known all things which I have wrought in the midst of you.

"Receive in you the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete. He it is Whom the Father will send you. You are my friends if you do the things which I command you. Receive in you the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete," etc.

These are the only passages of Scripture that are read at an ordination which at all bear on the signification of the service. Compare them with the Epistle and Gospel read in the Anglican Ordinal. After the responsory, the ordained Presbyter, standing before the altar, repeats the Apostles' Creed, which ended, the Pontiff "places both hands on his head," saying to him, "Receive the Holy Ghost: Whose sins thou shalt remit, they are remitted to them; and whose thou shalt retain, they are retained." Then, unfolding the chasuble, which the ordained has folded on his shoulders, he clothes him with it, saying :

"May the Lord clothe thee with the stole of innocence."

The ordained, then kneeling, places his hands, joined, be-

tween the hands of the Pontiff, who repeats to him the oath of canonical obedience, to which the candidate replies :

“I promise.”

After which the Pontiff charges him as follows :

“Inasmuch as that which thou art about to undertake is amply fraught with danger, I warn thee, well beloved son, to diligently learn from other well instructed priests the order of the whole Mass, and the consecration, fraction and communion of the Host, before celebrating Mass.” Then follows the benediction :

“The blessing of Almighty God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost descend upon thee, that thou mayest be blessed in the priestly order, and mayest thou offer propitiatory Hosts for the sins and offences of the people to Almighty God, to Whom be honour and glory, world without end.”

The Mass ended, the ordained Priest is admonished of the weighty charge he has taken upon himself, and how he should live worthy of it, and is directed that his first four Masses are to be—first, one for himself, and then three others, “of the Holy Spirit,” one “of the blessed ever Virgin Mary,” and “for the faithful departed,” respectively.

At the close of the ordination ceremony, the Pontiff and the newly ordained Priests say, “The Lord be with you,” to which the response is made, “And with thy spirit,” and then the first fourteen verses of the first chapter of St. John’s Gospel are read, with the final response, “*Deo gratias.*”

It is to be noted that the profession of faith, the recitation of the creed, immediately precedes the last laying-on of hands, which is in accordance with the primitive custom, which always insisted on a profession of faith, prior to the

administration of a Sacrament. Another proof that the man is not yet ordained.

Also, let it be noted that the chasuble, which has hitherto been lying folded on the man's shoulders, is immediately after the Imposition of hands unfolded, thus typifying that he is now fully clothed with the Priesthood.

A careful examination of the present Roman rite reveals to us that, according to its structure, a man is ordained by instalments, and that all his jurisdiction and temporary powers are conveyed to him, even the canonical right of celebrating Mass, before he receives his indelible "character" of the Priesthood, which is given to him amid significant ceremonies by the final Imposition of hands, with the accompanying form, "*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.*"

So ends the Ordinal according to the present use of Rome.

The Vatican Apologist, in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, lays down at the outset of his third article the following proposition:

"If, then, the words composing the sacramental form have not by themselves a definite signification, they can never, with a sensible matter or thing equally indefinite in its signification, constitute an effectual sign which signifies the definite grace which it produces, and produces the definite grace which it signifies." *

A proposition which we endorse, and, endorsing, ask him and his fellow-apologists how, in the face of it, they can uphold Roman orders?

A candid comparison of the Roman with the Edwardine Ordinal will show that the prayers in the former do not set

* Brandi, p. 45.

forth the dignity and office of the Priesthood as weightily as the Edwardine.

That the Roman contains no special Epistle or Gospel.

That the solemn priestly vows of the Edwardine are completely lacking in the Roman.

That the scattered allusions in the various prayers to the power of the candidate to celebrate Mass are not equal in force to the one simple expression of authoritative power said to the Anglican Priest at the indisputable moment of his ordination, "Be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and of His Holy Sacraments."

It is a trite maxim that repetitions weaken; that directions superadded to a general command limit that command.

Under the Edwardine clause the Sacraments of God are entrusted to his stewardship, without any restrictions or qualifications.

Under the Roman, it is very uncertain as to what is entrusted to the Roman Priest, so many and various are the different and detached powers given:

He is given the yoke of Christ.

He is given the priestly vestment.

He is given the power of blessing, consecrating and sanctifying.

He is given the power to offer sacrifice to God, to celebrate Masses for the living as for the dead.

He is given power to remit and to retain sins.

He is invested with the stole of innocence.

This will be found to be a faithful recapitulation of the powers given him, and anything outside of these powers he certainly cannot claim to possess.

An examination of these six powers shows that they are capable of being subdivided as powers ecclesiastical and as powers derived from the Holy Ghost. To the former belong the yoke of Christ, the vestment and the stole. To the latter belong the power of blessing, offering sacrifice, and remitting and retaining sins. The gift of the Holy Ghost is certainly therefore not bestowed in its fulness until the final Imposition of hands.

To this examination of the Roman Ordinal for Priests and its comparison with the Anglican the Bull has invited its readers. While it is gladly admitted that the Roman Ordinal contains many beautiful prayers and enshrines customs, some primitive, some mediæval, yet it must be admitted that the criticism levelled against it by many Roman writers is true; that it is impossible to determine at what period of the service a candidate becomes a Priest. Such uncertainty must lead to great confusion of thought, and to many grave questionings among both Bishops and Priests, as is witnessed to by the constant appeals to the Sacred Congregation of Rites. We do not doubt the efficiency of the Roman Ordinal, or that a man is an ordained Priest when the service is ended; neither do we say that the Anglican Ordinal is incapable of improvement, though we would not go to the Roman Ordinal for such improvements; but we much doubt the wisdom of the Bishop of Rome in inviting a comparison between the two Ordinals.

CHAPTER IV.

DEGRADATION AND RESTORATION OF A PRIEST.

THE PRIEST'S "POWER OF ORDER" WAS INHERENT IN HIM, SO THAT SUSPENSION OR DEGRADATION ONLY DEPRIVED HIM OF THE RIGHT OF EXERCISING THE POWER IN THE CHURCH, NOT OF THE POWER ITSELF.—*Churton.**

A CONSIDERATION of two brief services in the Roman Pontifical, but absent from our book, may be fruitful of results: The form for degrading a man in orders; the form for restoring a man so degraded. As we are concerned only with the Priest, let us look at the form for degrading a Priest.

DEGRADATION FROM THE ORDER OF THE PRESBYTERATE.†

The priest to be degraded has a chalice, containing wine and

* "Defence of the Ordinal," p. 68.

† Page 99 of Part Second, of the *Pontificale Romanum Summorum Pontificum.*

water, and a paten with a Host placed in his hands, which the Pontiff who degrades takes away from the man to be degraded, saying :

We take away from thee, as far as we are able to take away, the power of offering sacrifice to God, and of celebrating the Mass, as well for the living as for the dead.

Then the Pontiff who degrades lightly scrapes with a knife or glass, the thumb and index fingers of each hand of the man to be degraded, saying :

The power of sacrificing, of consecrating, and of blessing, which thou didst receive in the unction of thy hands and thumbs, we take from thee by this erasure.

Which said, the Pontiff who degrades takes the chasuble or planeta by the hinder part of the hood, and takes it off the man to be degraded, saying :

We despoil thee of the charity signified to thee deserving it, by the priestly vestment, because thou hast put off it, and all innocency.

Then the Pontiff who degrades takes away from the man to be degraded the stole, saying :

The sign of the Lord by this stole thou hast basely cast from thee, similarly we take it away from thee, whom we render incapable of exercising all priestly office.

The man is degraded from the Priesthood. Note well, however, what has been taken away from him—only the various powers which were conferred on him at his ordination, when different symbols of those powers were handed to him. There is no attempt to take from him the powers conferred on him when he received the Imposition of hands, accompanying the repetition of our Lord's words, “ Receive the Holy Ghost: Whose sins,” etc., and why? Because this

was the priestly character given, or, as the Council of Trent (Section xxiii., Canon IV.) defined it, "imprinted," by ordination, and a Priest cannot become a layman again.

The character is a seal which the Holy Ghost alone can impart. That which made a man Priest for ever cannot be taken away from him. That which gave a man temporary powers can be removed.

Now the removal of the powers above enumerated, in the form of Degradation, took away from the Priest his canonical or legal right to offer sacrifice, celebrate Mass, etc., and if he afterwards did so, he certainly would be liable to punishment by the ecclesiastical authorities. But, should the man brave the wrath of his superiors, would his consecration at a Mass be inoperative? Would his absolution of a penitent be null? No, the consecration and absolution would both be valid, though irregular. They would derive their validity from the priestly power conferred in ordination. That priestly power must logically remain after degradation, along with the residuum left to the man, when the service is over. That residuum is the Imposition of hands and use of our Lord's words. It cannot logically be in the first Imposition of hands, because nothing is then said, and a silent Imposition of hands, unless immediately preceded by some very definite prayer, or at least by a rubric, can hardly be claimed as "imprinting a character."

The consideration of this service of Degradation must force us to the conclusion that the candidate was not made a Priest until he had received the Imposition of hands with the use of our Lord's words. The conveying of symbols, with

the words accompanying, beautiful and significant as some may consider them, could only have conveyed the right to exercise various powers inherent in the Priest, in other words, his jurisdiction.

By analogy, when an English Priest is appointed Rector, he is bound to receive induction by delivery of certain symbols, as tokens of his powers as Rector. Until he has so received them, he is not legally Rector. But who would maintain that the tradition of a key, or the ringing of a bell, gave him the power of consecrating or absolving, or that he ceased to have that power when on his resignation of that benefice he delivered over to another the key or allowed another to ring the bell. The tradition of these symbols gave him not the power of consecrating and absolving, but the right to consecrate and absolve in that particular building and within certain territorial limits. The power of consecrating and absolving were inherent in him, together with all his other priestly powers, by virtue of his ordination.

All this is made evident by the Office of Restoration which, with the restoration of the symbols, the chasuble and stole, restores to the degraded Priest the very powers which were taken away from him in degradation; in other words, the restoration of these powers gives him jurisdiction again. In restoration there is no new ordination, although there is a further Imposition of the right hand, in token of reconciliation.

This certainly proves that the Priesthood does not lie in the form, "Receive power to offer sacrifice," etc. Let it be admitted that it did, then the Priesthood would be taken away from the man when that power was taken away from him,

and the Priesthood would be restored to him in the office of restoration, when those words were again said over him. In other words, a man might be ordained several times, which all theologians admit is an impossibility, and that, as the Council of Trent declares, the Priesthood is for ever.

Roman theologians admit that the Priesthood is not, and cannot be, taken away by the service of Degradation. Roman theologians have declared that in certain cases it absolutely becomes the duty of the degraded Priest to exercise his priestly powers, *e.g.*, in the case of a person *in extremis* with no Priest in full canonical standing accessible. The Priesthood must therefore be dormant, if you will, but still alive in the man, and it cannot be owing to the powers conferred on him when the chalice and paten were given him, and the form "Receive power to offer sacrifice," etc., was said over him at his ordination, because whatever power therein and thereby conferred was taken away at the Degradation, consequently the dormant but potential Priesthood lay in that which was not taken away or even attempted to be taken away, and the only one matter and form which was not repealed with "degradation intention" was the Imposition of hands, accompanying the recitation of our Lord's words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost : Whose sins," etc. Therefore, the Priesthood must have been given by that matter and form, and in that matter and form must lie the essence of the Priesthood.

This being so according to the Roman Ordinal, it follows that there can be no better or higher Priesthood conveyed in the Roman Ordinal than in the Edwardine. For what remains of the Roman Ordinal after those portions of it which are recalled in degradation or deposition are except-

ed, is identical with the Edwardine form, except that the Edwardine, in its necessary and simultaneous form, is fuller than the Roman, inasmuch as it conveys authority to dispense God's Word and Holy Sacraments

Roman Ordinal as in Leo XIII.'s day.

Quo finito Pontifex cum mitra sedens
super faldistorium, ante medium al-
taris, imponit ambas manus super
caput illius, coram se genuflexi, di-
cens illi:

Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, quorum
remiseris peccata, remittuntur eis, et
quorum retinueris, retenta sunt.

Translation.

When this prayer is done, the Pontiff
with his mitre on, sitting on the fald-
stool, before the midst of the altar, lays
both his hands on the head of the man
kneeling before him, saying:

Receive the Holy Ghost: whose
sins thou dost forgive, they are for-
given; and whose sins thou dost retain,
they are retained.

Edwardine as in Elizabeth's reign.

When this prayer is done,* the
Bishop with the Priests present shall
lay their hands severally upon the head
of every one that receiveth orders,
the receivers humbly kneeling upon
their knees, and the Bishop saying:

Receive the Holy Ghost: Whose
sins thou dost forgive, they are for-
given; and whose sins thou dost re-
tain, they are retained; and be thou a
faithful dispenser of the Word of God
and of His Holy Sacraments: In the
name of the Father, and of the Son,
and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

From all of which it follows that if there be defect of matter and form, or of either, in the Edwardine, the same defect must exist in the Roman. If the essence of the Priesthood be conveyed by the Roman, it must equally be conveyed by the Edwardine. If the immortal character of the Priesthood be imprinted by the Roman it must be so by the Edwardine.

* A previous rubric has directed that the Bishop is to be seated in his chair.

CHAPTER V.

ROME'S DECLARATIONS ON FORM AND MATTER.

IT IS CLEAR AS THE NOONDAY SUN THAT
THE POPES, MY PREDECESSORS, HAVE
NEVER ERRED IN THEIR CANONS OR CON-
STITUTIONS.—*Leo X.**

BEFORE leaving this subject of the Roman Ordinal for Priests, it may be well to see what Rome has formally declared on the subject of "form" and "matter" on other occasions.

In 1439 Pope Eugenius IV., at the Council of Florence, decreed :

"The sixth sacrament is Order, the matter of which is that thing by the delivery of which the order is conferred; as the Presbyterate is given by handing the chalice with wine and the paten with bread. The form of the Presby-

* Quoted by Quirinus, p. 634.

terate is as follows : ‘Take the power of offering sacrifice in the Church for the living and the dead: In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’”—*Denziger*, p. 596.

Here, then, we have a Papal decree which is certainly at variance with that of Leo. XIII. Eugenius declares the “form” to be, “Take the power,” etc. Leo is in favour of “Receive the Holy Ghost.” Eugenius declares the “matter” to be the tradition or porrection of the instruments. Leo decrees it to be the Imposition of hands.

In 1704 the Congregation of Sacred Rites decided in the case of the Ethiopians that the words “Receive the Holy Ghost” were sufficient to constitute a valid form.

“Resolution of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, given on Feria IV., being the 19th of April, 1704:

“In Ethiopia, as it is necessary that the persons to be ordained should assemble for their ordination from distant parts at the city where the schismatic Archbishop resides, and as he will only hold an ordination when persons to receive orders are collected together to the number of eight or ten thousand, or even more, in the said city, he has therefore at such a time to ordain three or four thousand, or even more, in one day. In short, when those who are to receive the Priesthood are arranged in ranks in the Church, the Archbishop, passing hastily in front of them, imposes his hands on the head of each, saying, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*. And for those to be ordained Deacons, he simply imposes his patriarchal cross on the head of each. And, in consequence of the great multitude and the confusion and the haste with which he proceeds, it follows that the Arch-

bishop on some does not impose the hands at all; and in other cases does not pronounce the words of the form; and not a few even are passed over without either one or the other. Hence the question is asked whether Priests and Deacons in such a mode and form are validly ordained; and consequently whether such a Priest on becoming a Catholic ought to be admitted to the exercise of his orders; and by what rule in such circumstances ought a missionary to be guided?

“Resolution of the Sacred Congregation :

“The ordination of a Priest with Imposition of hands and pronouncement of the form as stated in the case is valid; but the ordination of a Deacon simply with Imposition of the patriarchal cross is altogether invalid. Hence in admitting Presbyters and Deacons to the exercise of their orders after they have received the Catholic faith, the following rules are to be observed:

“If a Priest should say absolutely that he was ordained with Imposition of hands and pronouncement of the form, and if there should be no other impediment, the missionary, after giving him a dispensation from irregularity, and absolution from excommunication, may admit him to the exercise of his orders, according to the rite, approved and expurgated, in which he was ordained !”

This decision was reaffirmed in 1860.

Here, then, we have a decision affirming Imposition of hands as sufficient “matter,” and the three words, “*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*,” as sufficient “form.”

The Council of Trent, Session XXIII., Canon IV., certainly declares that the Holy Ghost is given by the words, “Receive the Holy Ghost.”

Canon IV., "If any one saith that by sacred ordination the Holy Ghost is not given and that vainly therefore do the Bishops say, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, . . . let him be anathema."

The views which Roman theologians have taken in the past regarding "form" and "matter" have varied according to the necessity for defending their own Ordinal. The mediæval view was that sanctioned by Eugenius IV., namely, that the "matter" was the tradition of the instruments, and the "form" was the accompanying imperative "Receive power to offer sacrifice," etc.

This view is easily accounted for. The tradition of instruments had most likely a twofold origin—a Jewish and a pagan.

In Leviticus viii. 26 we read that Moses, at the consecration of Aaron, "out of the basket of unleavened bread, that was before the Lord, he took an unleavened cake, and a cake of oiled bread, and one wafer, and put them on the fat, and upon the right shoulder: and he put all upon Aaron's hands."

The Pontifex Maximus of pagan Rome handed to the newly-made Priests the emblems of their office.

Not only has the Chief Pastor of Rome taken upon himself the pagan title of Pontifex Maximus, but with it he has taken, after or from the Pontifex Maximus, almost everything that distinguishes him from the Christian pastors.

He is chosen by a college, just as the Pontifex* Maximus was. He must be of an advanced age. Must not leave Italy. The Pontifex Maximus was the sole holder and ex-

* See Seyffert's "Dictionary of Antiquities" under *Pontifex*.

erciser, in Italy, of the Pontifical power. The college existed by his side only as a deliberative and executive body of personal assistants. In him was vested the appointment of all the Pontifices (or, as Rome now calls them, Pontiffs or Bishops). He made public the decisions of the college. He regulated the calendar. In him was vested the ultimate decision as to the lawfulness of certain marriages. He absolved from the marriage tie. He was sole judge in civil matters affecting actions against any of the priestly caste. He set forth the forms of prayer. All ritual and ceremonial law was in his keeping. He alone could dispense persons of their vows. The rules regulating the various rites were inscribed in the *Libri Pontificii* or *Pontifical*.

From being Pontifex, he came to be both Rex and Pontifex, and claimed a world-wide dominion in that dual capacity. The fasces were borne before him. In the later times of the Roman Empire he claimed to be the mouthpiece of the Deity and the sole representative of the Deity on earth. He claimed and received divine honours. It was reserved for Caligula, that monster of wickedness, to institute the grovelling custom copied from that of savage kings, of having his toe kissed by those who approached him at state receptions.

These functions and characteristics of the pagan Pontifex Maximus, Rex and Pontifex, are recognized at a glance as being those claimed by the Christian Pontifex Maximus, with the fasces borne before him and his Cardinals; Vicar of God, Infallible Oracle of the Deity, and as such Incarnate Spirit of God. It is, we are confident, by pushing our enquiries into the functions and ritual of the pagan

Pontifex that we shall obtain the key to present Roman functions and ritual, and to so much that distresses us in the claims of a Bishop and pastor of a Christian flock.

Based upon pagan and Jewish ceremonial, the view that the *traditio* or *porrectio* of the instruments was the essential matter, and the word accompanying it the essential form, grew into greater favour in the middle ages. It was of the essence of feudalism that all power was conveyed by the delivery into the hands of the appointee of something significant of the power conveyed—the keys of a fortress or of a city gate, a sod of earth, a few grains of corn, a small coin, a sword, a hat, a boat, a fishing net, some feathers, a bill hook, a peppercorn. Necessarily, therefore, when men saw the Church authorities hand over the pallium or woollen scarf (another pagan custom), the chalice or the paten, the pastoral staff and other such symbols of authority, they came to look upon the handing over of those symbols or instruments as being the one ceremony by which authority was conveyed.

When Morinus, the French scholar, showed that if the Roman Church wished to preserve her link with Christian antiquity she ought not to consider the tradition and accompanying words as the true matter and form, but rather seek them in other prayers and ceremonies, then Roman theologians, seeing the justice of Morinus's reasoning, ceased to contend that the tradition of the chalice and paten and the words "*Accipe potestatem*" were the true matter and form.

This view, abandoned as it is by Rome's learned theologians, dies hard. We have been assured personally by

individual Roman Priests, when asked at what point of the service they were made Priests, that it was at the delivery of the chalice and paten, when the words, "*Accipe potestatem,*" were said to them. We incline to the belief that this is the view of the majority of ordinary Roman Priests throughout the world, even if many of their scholars have given it up.

When, subsequent to Morinus's work, men sought in the Roman Ordinal for a valid Christian matter and form, they came to maintain that Imposition of hands was the matter. The difficulty, however, was to say which of the three Impositions of hands was the vitalizing one. Here Romans were in a dilemma. If they said the first, then there was no accompanying prayer. If they said the second, then there was no actual laying-on of hands, but, as we have seen, a mere extension of hands over all the candidates. Now the administration of a Sacrament requires that it shall be not collective but individual. Then again, the prayer which accompanied the extension of hands conveys no powers, nor mentions any; it is a mere invitation to prayer addressed to the congregation. If they said the third Imposition was the valid one, namely, when the consecrator lays his hands on the head of each person, with the accompanying words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," then they were met with the startling difficulty that the man had been allowed to celebrate before this Imposition, from which they argued that he must have been a Priest then.

Certainly by a strict interpretation of the rubrics, the man was, as we have seen, an ordained Priest before he celebrated, though he was not one immediately after the

tradition of the chalice and paten, with the words, "*Accipe potestatem.*"

To get out of these difficulties it was proposed by others that the Imposition of hands and the tradition of the instruments were both essential, and that they combined constituted the matter, while the form was uncertain. It might be the prayer accompanying the extension of hands, "*Oremus fratres,*" or it might be the "*Vere dignum,*" which is subsequent to the extension of hands, but precedes the vesting of the candidate.

This would certainly be a very clumsy reconciliation of difficulties, though it seems to be the one now growing into favour. One objection against it is that it makes essential what their own theologians have declared as non-essential, namely, the tradition of the instruments.

Mr. Barnes (on p. 33, *note*) when speaking of the Anglican Ordinal, and of a remark that the prayer in the Consecration of Bishops, "*Almighty God, the giver of all good things,*" has been suggested as the Anglican "form," thus scouts the idea :

"I pass over the suggestion that this prayer can itself be the 'form.' Common sense revolts against the idea of the 'form' being so far removed from the laying-on of hands."

If common sense revolts against the idea of the form being so far removed from the laying-on of hands in the Anglican Ordinal in the above suggested case, how must it revolt against the same idea in the Roman Ordinal, and the more so that if the form be the "*Vere dignum*" it comes considerably after, and not before or simultaneously with the matter, as common sense would suggest; and, more, it is, if

this last view of Roman theologians be adopted, insufficient, for it has to wait till the tradition, etc., has taken place before becoming potential.

Whether we go by the prayers in the Roman Ordinal, or by the rubrics, or by the views of their own theologians, we are landed into confusion.

The probability is that one result of this Bull will be an increased interest in the subject among Roman scholars, and that we shall see a fresh Apology for their Ordinal set forth. The difficulty will be for them so to frame their new theories that they will coincide with antiquity, not invalidate the Eastern Ordinals, and yet not by direct inference acknowledge the Anglican. In the Appendix will be found translations of as many forms of ordination as the writer has been able to gather together. We reserve a fuller consideration of them till we come to examine in detail the subject of the Sacrifice of the Christian Priesthood.

The first half of Section 7 may therefore be considered as sufficiently examined and threshed out; the result being that whatever Leo XIII. has therein advanced or insinuated against the Edwardine form for the ordination of Priests can be advanced without fear of contradiction and with much greater force and truth against the present Roman Ordinal.

We now pass on to the consideration of the latter half of Section 7, which opens with a statement concerning Episcopal consecration.

CHAPTER VI.

ANGLICAN FORM OF EPISCOPAL CON- SECRATION.

WHEREFORE WE NEITHER HAVE BISHOPS
WITHOUT CHURCH, OR CHURCH WITHOUT
BISHOPS.—*Jewel.**

SENTENCE 70 of *Apostolicae Curæ* reads: “The same holds good of Episcopal consecration.”

What does the Bishop mean by “the same”? Evidently that the objections which he has raised against the ordination of Priests hold good of Episcopal consecration. Very good. The reasons for this, he says, are, “For to the formula, ‘Receive the Holy Ghost,’ not only were the words ‘for the office and work of a Bishop,’ etc., added at a later period, but even these, as we shall presently state, must be understood in a sense different to that which they bear in the Catholic rite.”

Let us examine this sentence.

* Vol. IV., p. 456.

We need not, I think, go through the whole service for the consecration or making of a Bishop. It will suffice to point out that the service in the Edwardine rite provides a special Epistle and Gospel. The Epistle from I. Tim. iii. opens with the words, "This is a true saying, If a man desire the office of a Bishop, he desireth an honest work," and goes on giving the rule of life for a Bishop. The Gospel, John xxi., contains the charge to St. Peter to feed the sheep, or else, John x., proclaims the duties of the Good Shepherd.

That the Pastoral Office belongs to the Episcopate is the constant teaching of the Prayer Book. To the Bishop is given the title of Pastor. This was also the ancient teaching of the Church of Rome herself. The post-communion collect for the Pope in the service of the Mass at the ordination for priests terms the Pope simply Pastor.

"Always save and strengthen thy servant N, whom Thou hast appointed Pastor over Thy Church, together with the flock entrusted to his charge."

The selection of our Lord's Pastoral Charge sufficiently indicated to Churchmen at the time of the Reformation that the service was connected with the Episcopate.

In the strange misuse of terms that has crept into the Church in these latter years, we find even Deacons calling themselves Pastors, and issuing pastorals. The official terminology of the Prayer Book is both accurate and primitive.

"The Bishops and Pastors of Thy flock, that they may lay hands suddenly on no man."—*Ember collect.*

"Make, we beseech Thee, all Bishops and Pastors."—*St. Peter's Day collect.*

"Grant that Thy Church, being alway preserved from false apostles, may be ordered and guided by faithful and true Pastors."—*St. Matthias's Day collect.*

"Give grace, we beseech Thee, to all Bishops, the Pastors of Thy Church."—*Consecration of a Bishop* (added in 1662).*

The Bishop-elect is presented by two Bishops to be consecrated Bishop. The oaths of obedience to the Sovereign and to the Archbishop are then taken, the elect saying, "I, the chosen Bishop N, of the church and see of," etc., whereafter the Archbishop requests the prayers of the congregation in words which expressly state that the consecration is performed after "the example of our Saviour, Christ and His Apostles." No language can be more explicit than this dread claim of conferring the very same Apostleship that Christ instituted. There is a special suffrage in the Litany, the rubric directing that "after this place," *That it may please Thee to illuminate all Bishops*, etc., he shall say:

"That it may please Thee to bless this our brother elected, and to send Thy grace upon him, that he may duly execute the office whereunto he is called, to the edifying of Thy Church, and to the honour, praise and glory of Thy Name."

The Litany ended, comes the prayer, "Almighty God, giver of all good things, Which by Thy Holy Spirit hast appointed divers orders of ministers in Thy Church; Mercifully behold this Thy servant, now called to the work and ministry of a Bishop," etc., etc.

* It is worthy of note that in 1662 the word "Pastors" was struck out from the exhortation to the candidates in the Ordinal for Priests of 1549 and 1552.

The Archbishop thereupon solemnly examines the Bishop-elect * as to his vocation, and receives from him the solemn vows that he believes that Holy Scriptures contain all doctrine necessary for eternal salvation, and that he will study them and teach by them; that he will drive away false doctrine; that he will lead a godly and righteous life; that he will rule his "Diocese according to such authority as ye have by God's Word"; that he will be gentle, merciful, and dispense alms and hospitality. Whereupon the Archbishop beseeches God that He will grant the Bishop-elect the strength and power to perform his vows. The Veni Creator is then said, after which comes the prayer alluded to by Leo. XIII. and which therefore we give *in extenso*.

"Almighty God, and most merciful Father, Which of Thy infinite goodness hast given to us Thy only and most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ, to be our Redeemer and Author of everlasting life; who after that He had made perfect our redemption by His death, and was ascended into Heaven, poured down His gifts abundantly upon men, making some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and doctors, to the edifying and making perfect of His congregation. Grant, we beseech Thee, to this Thy servant such grace that he may evermore be ready to spread abroad Thy Gospel and glad tidings of reconcilement to God, and to use the authority given unto him, not to destroy but to save; not to hurt but to help, so that he, as a wise and faithful servant, giving to Thy family meat in due season, may at

* In accordance with the canons of the Fourth Council of Carthage, directing that the questions are to be asked before the consecration.

the last day be received into joy, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Who with Thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, one God, world without end. Amen."

Then the Archbishop and Bishops present shall lay their hands upon the head of the elected Bishop, the Archbishop saying :

"Take the Holy Ghost, and remember thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee, by Imposition of hands; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and of soberness."

The Bible is given with a solemn exhortation or rule of life, in which the following words occur: "Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd." "Then the Archbishop shall proceed to the Communion, with whom the new consecrated Bishop, with others shall also communicate."

Before the benediction a prayer is said invoking God's blessing on the new Bishop.

From this brief, but we hope accurate, synopsis of the service, it will be seen that it sets forth the office and work of a Bishop, as it is laid down in the Holy Scriptures, that the prayers and exhortations are compacted of the very words of Scripture, and that the ideals set before the Bishop-elect are those set forth by our Lord, to the Bishops and Pastors of His flock, and those set forth to Timothy by St. Paul.

Timothy has ever been considered as being one whom the Apostle had set apart as a Bishop, and it has been generally held that, when St. Paul bids him remember "the gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on my hands," he bade Timothy remember the solemn moment of his consecration to the Bishopric.

If Leo XIII. had endeavoured to show that the framers of the Ordinal had quoted inappropriate portions of Scripture, or that the office and work of a Bishop was not set forth in them, or that other passages in Holy Writ set them forth better in any way, then we could have listened to his argument with patience and attention. But when, as Leo himself knows, there are in the whole realm of Scripture no other passages which do set forth the office and dignity of a Bishop, then his calm statement that the prayers in the Ordinal do not set forth the office and dignity of the Episcopcal office makes us again charitably doubt if he has ever studied the form for making a Bishop in the Edwardine Ordinal.

It is admitted that the words "for the office and work of a Bishop" were added after the Savoy Conference, about a hundred years later than the settlement of the Edwardine Ordinal under Elizabeth, at the same time as when similar words were added to the form of priestly ordination. But we have seen that these words were added after the conference with the Presbyterians. One would think, from the way the Bishop of Rome harps upon this addition, that he considers that, if we had had it from the start, he could not have found much fault with the Edwardine form and intention. One would also think from his words that, by the absence of them, we had separated ourselves, if not from the Catholic Church, at any rate from the Roman Church, and that the Catholic rite and Roman rite both contained these words.

As a matter of fact, we have seen that the Roman rite in the Ordinal for Priests does not contain the words, and it

may be very well doubted if any ancient Catholic rite ever contained them. In the Roman Ordinal for the consecration of a Bishop the words are not found at all, either.

One would also suppose, from the way the Edwardine form is quoted, that it consisted only of the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," whereas, as we have seen, these four words form only the beginning of the whole sentence, the remaining part being taken from the Apostle's reminder to Timothy when he received the *χαρίσμα* at his consecration.

CHAPTER VII.

ROMAN FORM OF EPISCOPAL CONSECRATION.

WHO ARE THE SUCCESSORS OF THE OTHER APOSTLES? THE BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, WHO, IN COMMUNION WITH THE POPE AS THEIR HEAD, GOVERN THEIR RESPECTIVE DIOCESES, ARE THE SUCCESSORS OF THE OTHER APOSTLES.—*Roman Catechism.**

UNSATISFACTORY as the Roman Ordinal for the making of a Priest is, let us see whether that for consecrating a Bishop is any better. As we took from the Pontifical the Order for the ordination of a Presbyter, so we will take the ordination of one elected to the Episcopate.

It is curious to note that, so far as the rubrics go, the per-

* DeHarbe's "Large Catechism," approved by Roman Archbishops and Bishops in the United States, p. 37.

son consecrating is not called Archbishop, or Bishop, but simply "*Consecrator*" throughout. The opening rubric, however, lays down that the Consecrator must have the commission to consecrate, "*a Summo Pontifice*," that is, from the High Pontiff; in other words, the Pope. It would be instructive to point out how contrary to all primitive authority, custom and practice this arrogated power of one Bishop is to issue a commission for the consecration of all other Bishops the world over, and to claim that no one can be consecrated without the production of that commission. That is the only clear point in the lengthy preliminary rubrics. It would have been more satisfactory if mention had been made that the Consecrator must be an Archbishop or Bishop. In practice, no doubt, the Consecrator is always a Bishop, but the Ordinal does not say so. The rubrics are full of ceremonial directions as to vestments, candles, ring, etc., which need not detain us, though the direction that there shall be provided for the offering two large loaves and two barrels of wine, survivals of the primitive offerings, is very interesting.

The elder of the two Bishops who assist the Consecrator presents unto him the Bishop-elect as a Presbyter to be raised to the charge of the Episcopate; whereupon the Consecrator asks if he has the Apostolic mandate. Upon the affirmative reply, the notary takes the mandate and reads it, after which the Bishop-elect takes the oath to be obedient to Peter the Apostle, the holy Roman Church, and our Lord the Lord Pope and his successors canonically succeeding him. The oath is very lengthy, and is framed so as to bind the Bishop-elect to obey the Popes under every

circumstance, and that he will not alienate any Church property without consulting the Roman Pontiff. After which come the interrogations as to the Bishop-elect's belief, and desire to lead a holy life. These correspond to the vows in the Edwardine Ordinal. Then follows a long rubric directing certain ritual acts of the Bishop-elect and the Consecrator, and the Mass is proceeded with as far as the Alleluia, when a collect is said imploring God's grace, then the Consecrator tells the Bishop-elect :

“ It belongs to a Bishop to judge, to interpret, to consecrate, to ordain, to offer, to baptize, and to confirm.”

After which is said to those standing round the consecrator :

Oremus fratres. “ Let us pray, dearly beloved brethren, that the provident goodness of Almighty God may bestow the abundance of His grace upon this one elected for the good of the Church, through Christ our Lord.”

The Litany is then said, with the petition that God will bless, sanctify and consecrate the Elect.

The Litany ended, the Consecrator places the open Book of the Gospels on the neck and shoulders of the Elect, and then

“ The Consecrator and assisting Bishops touch with both hands the head of the one to be consecrated, saying : *

“ Receive the Holy Ghost.”

“(Deinde Consecrator et assistentes Episcopi ambabus manibus caput Consecrandi tangunt dicentes : ‘Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.’)’

* The illustration in the Pontifical here shows the Consecrator and the two Bishops with their hands outstretched over the Elect, but not touching him.

The Consecrator says :

"Vouchsafe to hear, O Lord, our supplications, and, holding over this Thy servant the horn of priestly grace, pour forth over him the power of Thy blessing, through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, who, with Thee," etc.

After which succeeds the prayer :

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens. A prayer which, referring to the priestly vestments of Aaron, and of the Priests of the old Law, beseeches God "to bestow upon this Thy servant whom Thou hast chosen to the ministry of the High Priesthood, the grace that whatever was signified by those types, in the brightness of gold, the glistening of gems, and the variety of embroideries, may shine forth in his life and conduct. Fulfil, O Lord, in Thy Priest, the perfection of Thy ministry, clothe him with the ornaments of all Thy glory, and sanctify him with the dew of Thine heavenly anointing."

Aster which the *Veni Creator* is sung, and the Bishop-elect is anointed on the head :

"May thy head be anointed and consecrated by heavenly benediction in the Pontifical order."

(*Ungatur, et consecretur caput tuum, cœlesti benedictione, in ordine Pontificali.*)

Then follows a long prayer, *Hoc, Domine*, invoking God's blessing on the Elect.

The prayer in the Anglican Ordinal, "Almighty God and most merciful Father," which immediately precedes the laying-on of hands, is an abridgment of this prayer. A comparison of the two will show that the allusion to the Christian ministry in the first part is much more direct in

the Anglican than it is in the Roman, and that the prayer has certainly gained in dignity by condensation. The only direct allusion in the Roman prayer to the office of a Bishop as distinguished from that of a Priest, is the petition, "Grant him, O Lord, the Episcopal chair to rule Thy Church" (*Cathedram Episcopalem ad regendum Ecclesiam tuam*). This is the first and only occasion when the word "Episcopal" occurs in the prayers. After the singing of Psalm cxxxii., the anointing of the hands of the Elect takes place. Henceforth the Bishop-elect is called no longer "*Electus*," as previously, but "*Consecratus*," therefore the man becomes a Bishop after the anointment of the hands. For he is distinctly called the Elect, in the rubric after the anointment of the head. By the strict and legal interpretation of the Pontifical, a man becomes a Bishop after his hands are anointed, and the following prayers said:

" May these hands be anointed by this holy oil and by the chrism of sanctification; as Samuel anointed David King and Prophet, so may they (thy hands) be anointed and consecrated.

" And producing with the right hand a threefold sign of the Cross over the hands of the Elect, he says :

" In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, making the image of the holy Cross of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who redeemed us from death and has led us to the kingdom of Heaven. Hear us, loving Father, omnipotent, eternal God, and be near us so that we may obtain that which we ask. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

" And, sitting down, he continues :

" May God, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who

has willed to exalt thee to the Pontifical dignity, pour forth the chrism and the oil of mystic anointing, and make thee fruitful with the plenitude of spiritual blessing, that whatsoever thou shalt bless, may be blessed, and whatsoever thou shalt sanctify, may be sanctified, and that the imposition of thy consecrated hand or thumb may be profitable to all, unto salvation. Amen."

By the strict letter of the rubrics, therefore, it is by this anointing and these prayers that men are consecrated to the Episcopate in the Roman Church.

Then follows the blessing and handing over of the pastoral staff and ring; then the Book of the Gospels is given. The Mass is proceeded with as far as the offertory, the new Bishop saying the Mass at a side chapel, while the Consecrator is saying it at the high altar. The offerings of the new Bishop are two lighted candles, two loaves and two barrels of wine. As the Mass is proceeded with, the newly consecrated Bishop proceeds from the side chapel to the Epistle side of the high altar, and there he and the Consecrator both repeat the prayer of consecration in the canon of the Mass, and the new Bishop standing, and not kneeling, is communicated under both species. After the Communion the mitre and gloves are blessed and delivered, and then a few short prayers and several minor ritual ceremonies conclude the service.

A consideration of the rubrics governing the con-celebration of the new Bishop with the Consecrator will show how widely this con-celebration differs from that of the Priest-candidates. The new Bishop stands at the further end of the Epistle side of the altar, and "says and does everything just

like the Consecrator." Two "Hosts" and enough wine for both Bishops are consecrated. The *secreta* and prayers for the "Consecrator" and "Consecratus" are given in parallel columns. They both say the prayer over the oblations, in fact the whole service is really a con-celebration. Both men are at the altar saying the same prayers, performing the same ritual actions. Both receive the Body and Blood standing, thus showing that according to Roman ritual they are both celebrants, and the rest of the Mass is proceeded with in the same dual manner. This is a real con-celebration. By comparing it with the so-called one for the Priests, the difference is at once apparent.

The Priest-candidate, though allowed to say the words of consecration, does so kneeling, as a worshipper—not standing, as a celebrant—has no part or lot in the actual service at the altar, and is communicated under one species, kneeling, as any other worshipper, not standing, as a Priest-celebrant.

The conclusion is again logically forced on one that the Ordinal does not view the candidate as a fully ordained Priest until he has received the final Imposition of hands and the *Accipe Spiritum*.

On the other hand, it is to be noted that in the case of the Bishop-elect, the Imposition of hands and the *Accipe Spiritum* has preceded the con-celebration of the elements.

He therefore con-celebrates in virtue of his Chief Priesthood or *summum sacerdotium*, given to him not by any specially significant prayer or tradition, but by virtue of his consecration or ordination, which is then already complete.

CHAPTER VIII.

ANGLICAN AND ROMAN CONSECRATIONS COMPARED.

SO AT LENGTH, BEING FORCED TO IT, THEY
HAVE BETAKEN THEMSELVES TO IMPOSI-
TION OF HANDS, WHICH ALONE ALL THE
FATHERS AND ALL THE ANCIENT RITUALS,
BOTH GREEK AND LATIN, ACKNOWLEDGE.
—*Morinus.**

HAVING examined both the Edwardine and the present Roman forms for making or consecrating a Bishop we revert to the opening sentence of the latter half of Section 7.

“The same holds good of episcopal consecration.” “The same” refers to the sentence just before, in which the Bull dealing with the ordination of Priests lays down “that form

* Quoted by Lee, *Validity of Holy Orders*, p. 61.

consequently cannot be considered apt or sufficient for the sacrament, which omits what it ought essentially to signify."

The Bull consequently declares that the form in episcopal consecration must contain what the Sacrament of consecration ought essentially to signify. We have shown pretty conclusively that the Anglican form does signify the Christian Episcopate. The Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus have ever been taken by Anglicans, Romans and Easterns—by the whole Catholic Church—to contain full mention of the power and authority of the Bishop, as a well-known writer says:

"The scriptural pattern of the Bishop's power of jurisdiction was always found in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, and the authority there exercised over the Presbyters in each Church by him who was ordained to preside over them." *

St. Paul's words to Timothy (II. Timothy i.), which are incorporated in the Anglican form, have been generally taken to refer to that solemn moment when St. Paul made or consecrated Timothy a Bishop. Rome herself, in chapter iii. of Session XXIII. of the Council of Trent, quotes this very passage from the admonition of St. Paul to Timothy as proving that Orders are one of the Sacraments of the Church. The first half of the form, "Take the Holy Ghost," refers to our Lord's commission (St. John xx. 21), after His resurrection, to the Apostles. The whole form, therefore, may be said to be an epitome of the teaching of the Catholic Church on the Christian Episcopacy—its institution by our Lord, and its perpetuation by the Apostles,

* Churton, *Defence of the English Ordinal*, p. 53.

together with its practical working as defined by St. Paul in the Pastoral Epistles. If either form is deficient in signification surely it must be the Roman one—and for this we have the authority of the Bull itself in the forepart of this very section. “The words . . . ‘Receive the Holy Ghost,’ certainly do not in the least definitely express the sacred order of Priesthood or its grace and power” (*A. C. 64*). The same certainly must apply to the sacred order of Bishops. And while the statement that these words were the Anglican form in the ordination of Priests is incorrect, it is true that they are the words, and the only words, of the Roman form of consecration of Bishops. If it be argued that the word “same” in the sentence “the same holds good of episcopal consecration” refers not to the form which is to be considered sufficient to the Sacrament, but to the argument of the Bull, that from the prayers in the Anglican rite all has been deliberately removed that sets forth the dignity and office of the Priesthood and Episcopacy in the Catholic rite, then we have seen that this argument is as fallacious as it is mendacious in regard to the Priesthood. Is it any sounder or truer in regard to the Episcopacy?

We grant that there is nothing relating to the Jewish ministry to be found in the service. We grant that customs relating to Jewish dress and ceremonial are equally lacking. We grant that customs taken from paganism and feudalism have been deliberately removed from the Anglican rite of consecrating a Bishop. Granting this, and more in the same line, we yet claim that it would be impossible to frame a service where all the scattered rays contained in the New Testament concerning the successors of the Apostles

are more vividly focused upon the consecration of a Bishop of the Catholic Church. The Word of God lights up with celestial brilliancy every act and deed of the service, and glows in its every prayer.

As we have said of the ordination of Priests, so do we say of the consecration of Bishops, for not one single moment are the congregation or the Elect allowed to forget the dignity and charge of the office conferred. From the moment when St. Paul's words, "If a man desire the office of a Bishop," which give the keynote to the service, are read, to the final collect before the benediction, when our Heavenly Father is besought to give His grace to the newly consecrated Bishop, that he may be "a wholesome example, in word, in conversation, in love, in faith, in chastity and purity," to faithful believers, the dignity and office of a Bishop is set forth with a measured stateliness of language and a majestic dignity of style equalled only by the grandeur of the theme.

The Bishop of Rome, as usual throughout this production, no sooner makes a positive statement than he proceeds to qualify it. He is apparently, throughout, terribly afraid lest his words should be taken in sober earnest.

Notwithstanding that he has stated that his argument in the first half of Section 7 "is to suffice for all," he yet goes piling up fresh arguments, evidently not quite satisfied as to whether any of his arguments suffice at all. So now, after having said "*The same holds good of episcopal ordination,*" he proceeds with a fresh argumentation "for to the formula '*Receive the Holy Ghost*' not only were the words '*for the office and work of a Bishop*,' etc., added at a later period,

but even these, as we shall presently state, must be understood in a sense different to that which they bear in the Catholic rite." (*A. C.* 71.)

Very good—the words, "*for the office and work of a Bishop*," were added at the 1662 revision—this is quite admitted. We have seen the historical reason for their incorporation in the formula, but inasmuch as we have agreed with the Bull that their addition one hundred years after the first use of the Reformed Ordinal could not have been of the slightest use, if the perpetuation of the Episcopate depended on their use, for the Anglican hierarchy would by that time have become extinct—it is puerile to re-argue that point. It is not the Ordinal of 1662 that is under examination, but the Elizabethan.

Leo XIII., however, gives us a little information in regard to these added words.

"They must be understood in a sense different to that which they bear in the Catholic rite."

Will Leo XIII. tell us in what Catholic rite these words, "*for the office and work of a Bishop*," occur?

We are not aware that they occur in any of the ancient Catholic rites, and in modern rites they occur only in the Anglican. They are not in the Eastern, and, strange to say, notwithstanding all that the Bull says about them, they are not in the present Roman rite. How can the words in the present Anglican form be understood in a sense different to that which they bear in the Catholic rite, when they are not found there? Comparisons are difficult at all times, but we must go to Rome for many strange wonders, not the least for the comparison of the existent with the non-existent.

But in this case, as in others, we believe the Bull does not mean what it says, but something different. We are inclined to believe that what the framers of the Bull meant to say was that the words, *office*, *work*, and *Bishop*, mean in the Edwardine Ordinal something different to what they mean in the Catholic rite. If that is the meaning of that phrase, then we must ask what Catholic rite is referred to by the term "*the Catholic rite*"?

The Christian Church has had, at different times and at different places, various rites for the ordination and consecration of its Priests and Bishops. Nor can it be said that there is any one formula which has ever and everywhere accompanied the laying-on of hands. There being, therefore, no one Catholic rite, it would be idle for us to examine into several of the ancient or modern Catholic rites to disprove this calm assertion, for we might be told after our examination that the one rite we had not examined was the one referred to by the term "*the Catholic rite*." Until, therefore, Leo XIII. is more explicit, we must defer such an examination. Let it be sufficient to say that the words *office*, *work*, and *Bishop*, in the Catholic rite used by the Anglican Church, are meant to signify just what our Lord meant when He commissioned or ordained His Apostles, and neither more nor less. For further elucidation of this meaning we refer Leo XIII. to a diligent reading of Holy Scripture and ancient authors from the Apostles' time.

"Nor is anything gained by quoting the prayer of the preface, 'Almighty God,' since it, in like manner, has been stripped of the words which denote the *summum sacerdotium*." (*A. C. 72.*)

This sentence does not seem to have any connection with the previous one. Let us presume it means that nothing is gained in the direction of validating the Anglican form, "Receive the Holy Ghost," etc., by the use of the prayer, "Almighty God." Now, why should the prayer be quoted in this relation? We freely admit that the imperative form, "Take or receive the Holy Ghost," is not ancient, but the framers of the Ordinal did not want to depart entirely and too radically from Western usage, and therefore retained it as an inheritance from the Roman Church. Still the Anglican Church has never declared that that form was insufficient. Her Doctors have, on the contrary, been apt to lay too much stress on it, and say that it was the true and ancient form. It has been rather among Doctors of the Roman Church that the form has been sought elsewhere than in the "*Accipe Spiritum*," and consequently they, or some of them, and these not the least illustrious or scholarly, have sought in the prayers that occur in the Roman Ordinal for some one prayer which might correspond in construction and matter with the ancient precatory forms. It is Roman Catholic Doctors who have been uneasy about their own forms. It is this uneasiness, this uncertainty about their own forms, that is the real cause of the two currents of thought so apparent in the Bull, and which makes it so hard to follow as a connected logical sequence.

The writers of the Bull were evidently of contrary opinions on this subject. We do not for one moment believe that Leo XIII. himself penned the first nine sections of the Bull. Leo XIII., if report speaks true, is a constant writer

of Latin verses, and his practised hand would have given us better and more scholarly Latin. He, however, probably wrote the tenth section, where the Latin is of far better quality. Some of the framers of the Bull were inclined to believe in the imperative forms, *Accipe potestatem* or *Accipe Spiritum*, as being the form; others, following Morinus, sought for the validity of their Orders from some of the prayers, notably the "It is truly meet," etc., which precedes the vesting of the candidate. The same double current of thought is apparent in the criticism of the Episcopal consecration, and that is why we have the enigmatical "nor is anything gained by quoting the prayer of the preface, 'Almighty God.'" The answer of the Bull to those probably non-English defenders of the Anglican rite, who quoted this prayer, is that "It, in like manner, has been stripped of the words which denote the '*summum sacerdotium*.'" Let us see whether the prayer in question has been stripped of the words which denote "the high priesthood," for such is the translation of "*summum sacerdotium*." We will assume that by the prayer, "Almighty God," the Bull refers to the prayer, "Almighty God, giver of all good things," though there are three prayers that begin "Almighty God" before the laying-on of hands. That prayer is not, as the Pope's criticism would seem to imply, an ancient prayer formerly used in the Roman Church, or in any other Church, and "stripped" of terms previously embodied in it. It is peculiarly an Anglican prayer. It is used with the necessary alteration of the word, Deacon, Priest, or Bishop, in the ordination to all three Orders. (It was, at a later date, in 1662, with slight alterations, appointed

as one of the Ember prayers.) As it is used with a different purpose each time, it therefore follows very clearly that when its phraseology is changed from "now called to the office of Priesthood" into "now called to the work and ministry of a Bishop," the prayer has not "been stripped of the words which denote the *summum sacerdotium*," or Episcopate. That the "*summum sacerdotium*" is the Episcopate is admitted by the writer of the Bull in a subsequent sentence:

"But the Episcopate . . . by the teaching of the Holy Fathers and our liturgical customs is called the '*summum sacerdotium, sacri ministerii summa.*'" (*A. C. 74.*)

Jewel readily admits that a Bishop is a "*summus sacerdos*," but denies the claim that Harding advances on behalf of the Pope to that title. He maintains he is a "*summus sacerdos*" only by virtue of his Episcopate, and not of his popedom.

If we examine the Roman Ordinal, strange to say, we do not find that any of the prayers in the service for making a Bishop denote the "*summum sacerdotium*." If the "*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*" be the form, then the only special prayer for the Elect is the invitation to prayer by the Consecrator which precedes the Litany, and that prayer simply asks God's blessing on the Elect for the good of the Church.

If we take the first prayer that succeeds the "*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*," then that is a prayer for priestly grace. If we take the long prayer, "*Domine Sancte Pater omnipotens*," then that is a petition that the Elect may have the graces which the Aaronic vestments typified. If we take the prayer after the consecration of the head, then that is a prayer which, with the solitary exception of the petition

referring to the “episcopal chair,” is one which can be said for any Priest, and at any time.

No doubt the former prevalent Roman custom of ordaining a Deacon to the Episcopate *per saltum*, that is, without ordaining him a Priest, is the cause of much of the confusion of ideas in these prayers. It would be necessary to pray for priestly grace on behalf of a man who had not yet received it. There is an evident attempt in the consecration to the Episcopate to convey also the lacking Priesthood. In the Anglican rite there is no such confusion of thought. The Episcopate is superadded to the Priesthood, the intention being perfectly clear that there is to be no ordination *per saltum*. It may also in this connection be pointed out that an objection has been made by Romanists that the words of the Anglican Ordinal, “Stir up the grace,” etc., quoted from St. Paul, show that no grace is meant to be thus conferred, since it is a reminder of past grace given. Yet this is not a necessary consequence from the words, since they can be taken as more naturally meaning to convey a reminder to the newly consecrated Bishop to remember in future this, his present consecration; this, his present gift of the Holy Ghost, and to stir up the grace thus given him.

Admit, however, that the reminder refers to a past gift. Then it refers to the “character” or indelible grace given at his ordination as Priest, and to stir up that grace in his new office and administration as a “*summus sacerdos*.”

These words of admonition could not find a place in the present Roman Ordinal, since the prayers do not absolutely presuppose the candidate’s previous ordination as

Priest and consequent previous reception of the indelible character of the Priesthood.

In not a single prayer of the Roman Ordinal for the consecration of the Bishop are the words, "*summum sacerdotium*" found, nor is there anything in them which denotes the Episcopal order, beyond the reference to the Episcopal chair. In the words which accompany the consecration of the head is the nearest approach to this, but that most meagrely. It is simply that his "head may be anointed and consecrated with heavenly blessing in the Pontifical order." The words accompanying the consecration of the hands would be more appropriate to the unction of a king, "as Samuel anointed David King and Prophet, so may they be anointed and consecrated." Since, therefore, the prayers in the Roman Ordinal do not contain words which denote the "*summum sacerdotium*," nor even those words themselves, we certainly think it very unwise on the part of the Bishop of Rome to complain that such words are not in the prayers of the Anglican Ordinal.

The call to prayer, on the part of the Archbishop, in the Anglican Ordinal before the Litany is said, specifically refers not to Jacob, or Moses, or Aaron, but to our Lord's example when He chose the twelve Apostles, and to the example of the Apostles themselves, when they laid hands on Paul and Barnabas; and "let us, therefore, following the example of our Saviour Christ, and His Apostles, first fall to prayer." Nothing could more plainly denote the "*summum sacerdotium*" of the Christian Church. In the prayer, "Almighty God, giver of all good things," the Elect is designated as "Thy servant, now called to the work and ministry

of a Bishop." The Bull acknowledges, as we have seen, that the Bishop is the "*summus sacerdos*." The Prayer, "Almighty God and most merciful Father," if it does not use the word Bishop, yet asks for the Elect the grace given to Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, Doctors—terms used by St. Paul to designate the Christian ministry, and generally accepted by the Church as denoting the work and ministry of the Episcopate, or "*summum sacerdotium*."

The words accompanying the Anglican Imposition of hands are certainly fuller than the bare "*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*" of the Roman Ordinal, and do link with them the office and work of a Christian Bishop. The words accompanying the delivery of the Bible set forth the pastoral office—that office which Rome herself agrees with us in holding as belonging to Bishops.

Before passing on any further, let us examine the office in the Roman Pontifical for the degradation of a Bishop.

CHAPTER IX.

DEGRADATION OF A BISHOP.

THEN A CLERGYMAN WAS TOTALLY DIVESTED BOTH OF THE NAME AND DIGNITY, AND POWER AND AUTHORITY BELONGING TO HIS FORMER ORDER.—*Bingham.**

SYMBOLICAL ceremonies attend the degradation of a Bishop. The mitre is taken off his head, then the Book of the Gospels is given into the hands of the person to be degraded, and taken away by the officiating Bishop. The ring is removed from the finger, and the pastoral staff taken away—the accompanying words in this case being:

“We take away from thee the pastoral staff, so that thou shalt not exercise the office of correction which thou hast disgraced.”

The gloves are taken off and the thumbs and hands lightly scraped.

“Thus, as far as we are able, we deprive thee of the power of spiritual benediction and of mystical unction, so that thou mayest lose both the office and virtue of sacrificing and of blessing.”

* *Antiquities*, p. 1030.

After which the head is lightly scraped.

"We take away, by this erasure, the consecration and benediction and unction given thee, and expel thee from the Pontifical order in which thou hast become incompetent." And finally his sandals are taken off.

From this office it follows that the only ceremony which is not recalled with an "intention of degradation" is that of the Imposition of hands, accompanied by the words, "*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.*" Consequently, the logical conclusion arrived at in regard to Episcopal ordination or consecration in the office as it is now is similar to that arrived at in regard to the ordination of Priests. The indelible character imprinted by the Imposition of hands and the accompanying words is not removed by degradation.

If, therefore, it results from this that the present form and matter in the making of a Roman Bishop lie in the Imposition of hands, and the words, "*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum,*" then since the Anglican matter is likewise Imposition of hands, and the form at least the words, "Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God," etc., it must follow, the form and matter being, in this view, the same in both cases, that the ordination must be equally valid, neither more nor less, in either case.

As we have seen the *sacerdotium* to have been conferred by the Anglican Ordinal of Priests, so then do we now see that the *summum sacerdotium* is conferred by the Anglican Ordinal of Bishops.

We pass on then to the consideration of the next sentence of the Bull.

CHAPTER X.

THE EPISCOPATE IN RELATION TO THE PRIESTHOOD.

IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE ANCIENT BELIEF
WAS THAT A BISHOP IS SUPERIOR TO A
PRESBYTER, NOT ONLY AS POSSESSING JUR-
ISDICTION OVER HIS PARTICULAR DIOCESE,
BUT BY A CERTAIN POWER OF ORDER WITH
WHICH HE IS INVESTED AT HIS CONSECRATION.—*Churton.**

ON THE relation of the Episcopate to the Priesthood we have the following pronouncement :

“ It is not here relevant to examine whether the Episcopate be a completion of the Priesthood, or an Order distinct from it, or whether, when bestowed, as they say *per saltum*, on one who is not a Priest, it has or has not its effect. But the Episcopate undoubtedly, by the institution of Christ, most truly belongs to the Sacrament of Orders and constitutes the *sacerdotium* in the highest degree, namely, that which by the teaching of the Holy Fathers and our litur-

* “ Defence of the English Ordinal,” p. 57.

gical customs, is called the ‘*summum sacerdotium, sacri ministerii summa.*’” (*A. C. 73, 74.*)

As to the first sentence, English Bishops are not consecrated *per saltum*, nor has any Bishop of the Church of England since the Reformation been so consecrated. In fact, the only consecrations *per saltum* that we know of in the Anglican Episcopate were those of Spottiswoode, Lamb and Hamilton to Scotch Sees, in 1610.

Many Bishops of Rome were consecrated *per saltum* from the Diaconate to the Episcopate. Indeed, it seems to have been the more usual way for some centuries. The practice, at any rate, seems to have become so recognized at Rome, that Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, strongly remonstrated with Nicholas I. of Rome against the custom.

It is not at all clear what Leo means by the enquiry “whether when bestowed, as they say *per saltum*, on one who is not a Priest, it has or has not its effect?” Does he cast doubt on the validity of such a consecration? or does he cast doubt on the Bishop so consecrated having received the Priesthood at all? As to the Episcopate being a distinct Order or not, it may be said in passing that it has been generally held that there is no “Order” superior to that of the Priest. The Bishop is a Priest with the addition of jurisdiction in which is included the power of transmitting the grace of Orders. The Bishop is nevertheless a spiritual Father and Ruler by *Jus Divinum* and not by mere ecclesiastical custom or precedent. Because Bishops have a separate ordination or consecration, they rank as an Order in the ecclesiastical hierarchy; there is no ecclesiastical hierarchy above or among Bishops, no prelates above prelates. The

Bishop is supreme, and is responsible only to the Council or Confederacy of the Bishops who may delegate their power to a Metropolitan to act on their behalf, as a number of Metropolitans may delegate their powers to a Primate, and a number of Primates to a Patriarch.

But they are all Bishops, and not superintendents over other Bishops, and the powers delegated may be revoked, cancelled or abridged.

As to the second sentence, we are glad to agree with the Bull in its statement that the Episcopate belongs to the Sacrament of Orders and constitutes the *summum sacerdotium* or Chief Priesthood.

And now we come to the last sentence in the seventh section :

"So it comes to pass that as the Sacrament of orders and the true *sacerdotium* of Christ were utterly eliminated from the Anglican rite, and hence the *sacerdotium* is in no wise conferred truly and validly in the Episcopal consecration of the same rite; for the like reason, therefore, the Episcopate can in no wise be truly and validly conferred by it, and this the more so because among the first duties of the Episcopate is that of ordaining ministers for the Holy Eucharist and Sacrifice." (A. C. 75.)

This is a very long sentence resting on a very slight foundation—the word "so." To what does the "so" refer? Is it to the previous sentence? If it does, then the argument runs that because the Episcopate is the *summum sacerdotium*, it follows thence that the Sacrament of orders and the *sacerdotium* were eliminated from the Anglican rite. A most lame conclusion and most burlesque argument.

If the word "so" refers to all that has preceded in Section 7, and is meant to indicate that this final sentence is a summary of the whole argumentation, then we can only say that inasmuch as the Bishop of Rome has failed in any part of this Section 7 or of any preceding section to show that the Sacrament of Orders and the true *sacerdotium* were eliminated from the Anglican rite, his conclusions are worthless. Indeed, his attempt has been rather to show that the "dignity and office of the Priesthood" had not been set forth in the Anglican Ordinal, which we have found him unable to accomplish. Indeed, if he had succeeded in his contention, that would not have necessarily carried with it the deduction that the Anglican Church had no Sacrament of Orders.

Lest any one should here object that we use the term Sacrament in a non-Roman sense, we would reply that we use it in the sense that both the Council of Trent and the Anglican Catechism use it—as a Sacrament, but not as a Sacrament of obligation. The Catechism wisely draws a sharp distinction between the Sacraments, and affirms that there are two only as generally necessary to salvation, in other words, that all people must receive these Sacraments. The Council likewise takes the view that all the Sacraments are not of the same rank. For in the third Canon of the Seventh Session the Council anathematizes those who believe in the equality of the seven Sacraments. ("If any one saith that these seven Sacraments are in such wise equal to each other, as that one is not in any way more worthy than another, let him be anathema.")*

* Waterworth, p. 54.

The Catechism of the Council of Trent † defines a Sacrament thus: "A Sacrament is a sign of a sacred thing," or, again, "A Sacrament is a visible sign of an invisible grace, instituted for our justification." Taking either of these definitions of a Sacrament, no Anglican will refuse to include Holy Orders under the term Sacrament; though he will naturally prefer the more reverent and noble definition of his own Church, believing that Holy Orders, though not a Sacrament of universal obligation, yet is a Sacrament, in that it is "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us."

It is puerile to say, therefore, as the Bishop of Rome does, that the Sacrament of Orders has been utterly eliminated from the Anglican rite. His next assertion is, however, the keystone of the whole Papal argument. All the other reasons are mere verbiage and padding. It is not that Anglicans do not possess Orders, or that the Ordinal lacks in dignity, or that the prayers do not set forth the office and dignity of the Priesthood or Episcopate, but that Anglicans have not the true *sacerdotium*.

"The true *sacerdotium* was utterly eliminated from the Anglican rite."

Here we have the whole of the Roman position. It would have been more straightforward if the Bishop of Rome had simply confined himself to that one statement, and made that his definite pronouncement. Cardinal Vaughan, the head of the Italian Mission in England, in a speech made soon after the promulgation of the Bull, is reported as saying that the real point at issue was this: Are Angli-

† Page 100.

can Priests sacrificing Priests? and he defied any Bishop to step forth and declare that he and his clergy were sacrificing Priests. A Jesuit Priest, Fr. Sydney F. Smith, in a very well reasoned article in the *Contemporary Review* for January, 1897, has shown quite plainly that the real point at issue in the Roman Catholic mind is simply this: Does the Anglican rite purport to convey a sacrificing Priesthood?

"An Ordinal to be valid, he" (*i.e.*, the Pope) "says, should purport to convey a sacrificing Priesthood. This purports not to convey it. Therefore it will not do" (p. 34).

"Catholicus," in an article defending the Bull in the *Contemporary Review* for December, 1896, also very fairly sums up the situation thus:

"Their forms (*i.e.*, those of Anglican ordinations), taken in their natural sense, do not imply the conferring of the real Priesthood, and their editors had no intention of bestowing any supernatural power. There is therefore no Sacrament. That which there is no will to do, is not done; no power is given where none is intended" (p. 807). The *Civiltà Cattolica* makes the same contention.

In the report to the Vatican, made by Canon Moyes and Dom Gasquet, on the present situation in England, and containing their reasons against the Papal recognition of Anglican orders, it is plainly stated as one of the reasons, that the Anglican Bishops, clergy and laity, do not believe in a sacrificing Priesthood, nor in the sacrifice of the Mass, and that the Liturgy and Ordinal of the Anglican Church do not teach the doctrines held by Rome on those points. It is round this contention that all their reasoning revolves.*

* *Church Times*, October 2, 1896.

It is unnecessary to multiply quotations. It will be admitted by Anglicans and Romans alike that the sacrificing idea is the root idea. To avoid needless repetition, we will defer considering this question of sacrifice till we come to that portion of Section 8 where it is more clearly dealt with.

Apart from the momentous question as to whether the Anglican Episcopate and therefore the Anglican Church has the true *sacerdotium* or not, we maintain that we have answered all the arguments brought forth against the Anglican Ordinal by the writer of the Bull, as advanced in this Section 7. We have carefully gone over the Elizabethan Ordinal, we have examined the assertions made in regard to it. We have proved them, so we believe, to be baseless, and further, we have found that these words or sentences, for the lack of which Leo condemns the Anglican Ordinal, are not really lacking, whereas, strange to say, they are not found in the Roman Ordinal itself. We have shown that the intention of the Anglican Ordinal to make a Priest or a Bishop is much clearer than that of the Roman Ordinal. That the Roman Ordinal, when viewed coldly and critically, is one hopeless tangle of contradictions, and that so far as any clear form and matter can be discerned in it, such form and matter are, according to the rules laid down by the Bishop of Rome, neither apt nor sufficient for the Sacrament, and that the Orders of the Roman Church might certainly be considered doubtful if tested solely by the rules laid down in the letter *Apostolice Curae* unless the law of charity prevail, and a meaning be given and imported into the Roman Ordinal which is not there in specific terms.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FRAMERS OF THE ANGLICAN ORDINAL.

WE HAVE SEARCHED OUT OF THE HOLY BIBLE, WHICH WE ARE SURE CANNOT DECEIVE US, ONE SURE FORM OF RELIGION, AND HAVE RETURNED AGAIN UNTO THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH OF THE ANCIENT FATHERS AND APOSTLES, THAT IS TO SAY, TO THE GROUND AND BEGINNING OF THINGS, UNTO THE VERY FOUNDATIONS AND HEADSPRINGS OF CHRIST'S CHURCH.—
*Apology for the Church of England.**

APOSTOLICÆ CURÆ.

§ 8.—THE MIND AND AIM OF THOSE WHO COMPOSED THE ANGLICAN ORDINAL.

76 *For the full and accurate understanding of the Anglican Ordinal, besides what we have noted as to some of its parts, there is nothing more pertinent than to consider carefully the circumstances under*
** Jewel, Vol. VI., p. 524.*

77 which it was composed and publicly authorized. It would be tedious to enter into details, nor is it necessary to do so, as the history of that time is sufficiently eloquent as to the animus of the authors of the Ordinal against the Catholic Church, as to the abettors whom they associated with themselves from the heterodox sects, and as to
78 the end they had in view. Being fully cognisant of the necessary connection between faith and worship, between "the law of believing and the law of praying," under a pretext of returning to the primitive form, they corrupted the Liturgical Order in many ways to
79 suit the errors of the reformers. For this reason, in the whole Ordinal not only is there no clear mention of the sacrifice, of consecration, of the sacerdotium and of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice, but as we have just stated, every trace of these things, which had been in such prayers of the Catholic rite as they had not entirely
80 rejected, was deliberately removed and struck out. In this way, the native character—or spirit as it is called—of the Ordinal clearly
81 manifests itself. Hence, if vitiated in its origin, it was wholly insufficient to confer Orders, it was impossible that, in the course of time,
82 it would become sufficient, since no change had taken place. In vain those who, from the time of Charles I., have attempted to hold some kind of sacrifice or of Priesthood, have made some additions to
83 the Ordinal. In vain also has been the contention of that small section of the Anglican body, formed in recent times, that the said Ordinal can be understood and interpreted in a sound and orthodox sense.
84 Such efforts, we affirm, have been, and are, made in vain, and for this reason, that any words in the Anglican Ordinal, as it now is, which lend themselves to ambiguity cannot be taken in the same
85 sense as they possess in the Catholic rite. For once a new rite has been initiated in which, as we have seen, the Sacrament of Orders is adulterated or denied, and from which all idea of consecration and sacrifice has been rejected, the formula, "Receive the Holy Ghost,"

no longer holds good, because the Spirit is infused into the soul with the grace of the Sacrament, and the words, "for the office and work of a Priest or Bishop," and the like no longer hold good, but remain as words without the reality which Christ instituted. Several of the more shrewd Anglican interpreters of the Ordinal have perceived the force of this argument, and they openly urge it against those who take the Ordinal in a new sense, and vainly attach to the Orders conferred thereby a value and efficacy which they do not possess.

87 *By this same argument is refuted the contention of those who think that the prayer "Almighty God, Giver of all good Things," which is found at the beginning of the ritual action, might suffice as a legitimate form of Orders, even in the hypothesis that it might be held to be sufficient in a Catholic rite approved by the Church.*

COMMENT on the first sentence is unnecessary. It is merely introductory. As to the second, we would remark that so great a question as the reunion of Christendom ought not to be treated like a pastime. Inconceivably tedious will many of the details be even upon very minor points. When in a document which purports to be a conciliatory one (as Fr. Sydney F. Smith blandly assures us is the case with the present Bull), statements are made referring to historical facts, it would be more charitable to adduce those facts. To pass them over, with a mere wave of the hand, as unnecessary, is a poor foundation for an argument. The more so, as the only real and vital argument in the whole of the Bull is based on these very historical facts. We flatly contradict the statement that "the history of that time is sufficiently eloquent as to the animus of the authors of the Ordinal against the Catholic Church."

As a matter of fact, no adequate presentation has yet been

given of the complex and intricate national movement that culminated during the reign of Henry VIII. If, by the terms "Authors of the Ordinal," be meant the English Divines chiefly responsible for the Prayer Book, or Ordinal, then these men were not moved by any animus against the Church, whether by that term be meant the Church of England, or the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of the Creeds. The more their lives are studied, the more their motives are probed, the clearer does it become that they were striving against such odds as the world has never yet witnessed to maintain the Church of England inviolate and intact, and further, to preserve to that Church all such Sacraments, rites and ceremonies as were essential not only to her well being, but also to her divine being. No fiercer light has ever been turned, in all history, ancient or modern, upon the character, temperament, aims, motives and habits of any man or group of men, than has been turned upon these Anglican Fathers. That human imperfections, frailties, and weaknesses have been found is a necessary consequence of their being human. But did we know one hundredth part as much of the lives of many reputed saints as we do of the lives of these men, it is to be feared that there would be little left for our veneration. Reviled on all sides, both by the men of their own household and by those without, the Fathers of the Reformation were in their lifetime assailed by the Puritans for not attacking, and by the Papists for defending the Church. Afterwards, they were praised by the Puritan party in England for aims and motives they did not possess and for work which they had not done. Recently they have been vilified by those

who love Rome, for having done their work too effectually. Praised and reviled in turn to suit party purposes, their souls are in the hand of God, where no evil clamour reaches them, while on earth their work endures. It is in the very Ordinal they sanctioned that has been found the bulwark both against the heterodox sects and against Papal attacks. And, if we may venture on a prediction, it will be through the Book of Common Prayer and Ordinal, and the teaching contained therein, that will be brought about union with the Eastern Churches, for whom the Reformers had such kindly veneration. In this very comparison which Leo XIII. has, as a writer on his own side confesses, rashly invited, we fear nothing. "Catholicus," in the article before quoted, admits that results and consequences flow from the Bull as unforeseen as they are undesired by the Pope and the Cardinals.*

Few have, hitherto, troubled to read the Roman Ordinal, hidden from sight as it has been in a foreign tongue. Until now, Anglicans, with good-natured tolerance, took it for granted that the Roman Church had been a careful steward of the essentials, and that her form and matter were above reproach. Now they will rejoice that the authors of their own Ordinal so framed it that, in contrast with the many shifting and variable lights of the Roman rite, it shines out in clear and translucent unity. The work of the authors of the Anglican Ordinal was done with a single and steady eye, so as to harmonize it with the faith of the Church as it had been in purer days. Roman Catholic writers have frankly admitted that some of the darkest days for the faith of the Church are to be found in the fifteenth century.

* Cf. pp. 807 and 808, *Contemporary Review* for December, 1896.

A Roman writer, M. A. Boudinhon, in the *Revue Anglo-Romaine* for July 25, 1896, p. 782, may be quoted as showing that not all educated Romans are as positive as Leo XIII. as to the animus of the authors of the Anglican Ordinal against the Catholic Church. This is what he says :

"Let us keep for the moment to the rites and words of the Ordinal. One can say that neither Cranmer nor the others desired to establish an entirely new method of conferring Orders, or a determination of the essential elements of ordinations substantially different from the ancient one; they have modified the formulas and the rites; but they did not think that they were departing from the theological principles then generally accepted; in other words, they thought they were moving along the lines sufficiently elastic of sacramental theology in connection with Orders, and did not suppose that theologians could look upon the new Ordinal as essentially insufficient."

Such is the view which M. Boudinhon takes of the animus of the framers of the Anglican Ordinal. And we mention it as a proof that unanimity is not to be found even in the Roman camp on the matter which the Bull so airily dismisses as beyond question. As to who the actual framers of the Ordinal were, strange as it may seem, no one knows for certain. The commission to frame the new Ordinal was given to six Bishops and six other learned men, and, though undoubtedly Cranmer was one of them, it is not known for certain who the other eleven were.* It is idle there-

* It is conjectured that the framers of the Ordinal were the same, with one exception, as those who drew up the first Prayer Book. According to Joyce (*Acts of the Church*, p. 106, *et seq.*) the committee consisted of

fore to talk about the animus of persons unknown. Even supposing we discovered their names to-morrow, their private feelings and opinions would be of no weight. Rome herself would very justly refuse to be bound by the sayings of any of her children. She refuses to be bound even by the sayings of her Chief Ruler. It is only under certain circumstances that a saying or ruling of her Pope is accepted as binding. Rome would insist that the opinions of the framers and revisers of her Ordinal and its different editions could not be taken as controverting the official language of the Church. It may be possible that some of the framers of the Ordinal differed from the Catholic Church, and clearly expressed that difference, but even if such sayings of theirs could be quoted (which we by no means admit), we should refuse to be bound by them. We should

thirteen : Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Goodrich of Ely, Skyp of Hereford, Holbeach of Lincoln, Ridley of Rochester, Thirlby of Westminster ; Heath of Worcester ; Doctors Cox, Dean of Christ Church ; Heynes, Dean of Exeter ; May, Dean of St. Paul's ; Redmayn, Master of Trinity College ; Robertson, Archdeacon of Leicester ; Taylour, Dean of Lincoln and Prolocutor of the Canterbury Convocation. The new member was Bishop Heath, who succeeded Bishop Day. This Commission was a committee selected in 1547 by the Convocation of Canterbury out of the members of the joint committee of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, appointed in 1542.

If this committee of 1547 drafted the Ordinal, then it included not only among its members, but among those who signed the Report, such men of the Old Learning as Bishops Skyp and Thirlby, the latter the same person alluded to in the Bull as "most illustrious and endowed with every virtue" (*A. C. 29*), and Archdeacon Robertson, and Redmayn.

That the report was not signed unanimously, Bishop Heath refusing, adds to the force of the argument.

insist upon the official language of the Church, and that only, being taken in evidence.

If the term "Catholic," in this sentence of the Bull, has been wrongly read, and if by it be meant the Roman Catholic Church, and not the Catholic Church, then the argument of the Bull is childish. No one doubts that the framers of the Ordinal had an animus against the Roman Church. The new Ordinal was of course a reforming or refashioning of an Ordinal embodying doctrines and practices enjoined by the Roman Church, even if the York, Hereford or Sarum Ordinal was taken as the basis of revision instead of that of Rome. The mere fact of differing from Rome, and having a dislike of Rome and of Roman ways, does not yet constitute heresy, even in the eyes of Rome.

The Churches of the East have used, and still use, official language far stronger, in condemnation of Rome and Roman practice, than the Church of England has ever officially used, but the Orders of these Churches have not been denied by Rome, nor on the innumerable occasions when, in the past, Bishops of other Sees differed from the Bishop of Rome, did the latter presume so far as to say that the Orders of those others, or of the clergy in their jurisdiction were, by reason of such difference of opinion, invalid. Of course the Church of England and the Churches in communion with her have a strong feeling or animus against the Roman Catholic Church, and so have the Church of Constantinople and the Churches in communion with her a like feeling against the Roman Church. The Church of Constantinople, no later than in 1895, styled the Roman Church "the Church of innovations, of the falsification of the writ-

ings of the Church Fathers, and of the misinterpretation of Holy Scripture and of the decrees of the Holy Councils."

That is a very different thing from having an animus against the Catholic Church. Canterbury and Constanti-nople alike reject that which, though found in the Roman Church, cannot be proved to be Catholic. The animus of the Church of England is against all that is uncatholic in the Roman Church. The animus of the framers of the Anglican Ordinal, so far as we know it, was fiercely against Roman abuses, corruptions, and heresies, because they believed them to be marks of disloyalty to the Catholic Church. Even the most superficial reader of Anglican Divines of that time must be struck with the passionate appeal to the ancient Fathers, to the primitive days of the Catholic Church. Over and over again they express their willingness, nay, their eagerness, to correct and amend any of their ways if they can be found contrary to the teaching of the Catholic faith. Cranmer, in his dying moments, but repeated the conviction of all, when he appealed to a General Council.

The statement "as to the abettors whom they associated with themselves from the heterodox sects," is false. It is false, if the statement means that the Commission on the Ordinal was composed of any but Anglican Bishops and Divines. Yet this is the plain grammatical meaning of the sentence. Though we do not know for certain the names of the men on the Commission, we do know that there was no one belonging to any foreign religious body on it.

If the sentence means that the framers of the Ordinal sought the advice of foreign Protestants, this may be true,

though it would be more accurate to say that the framers of the Ordinal were offered advice, rather than sought it. However, whether they received or sought advice, that is a very different thing from adopting the advice given. It is very noteworthy to find that our Ordinal, so far from being pleasing to foreign Protestants, was condemned by them. The Puritans indeed went so far as to cause to be printed Prayer Books after the original of the Standard Book, but with changes throughout, expressing their own doctrinal views. We refer to a few of the changes. Minister is printed throughout for Priest. The omission of the whole service for private baptism and of that for confirmation. The excision of the direction after the service for public baptism, contained in the rubric, that the person shall be brought to the Bishop to be confirmed. The cutting out of the address preceding and of the rubrics following the Catechism. The omission of the service for the Churhing of women. A new calendar was substituted for the authorized one.

The clause in Article XXXVI., that the Ordinal hath neither "anything that of itself is superstitious or ungodly" was directed against the views of foreign Protestants and their followers at home.

If the reception and following of advice be taken as the meaning of this sentence of the Bull, it is false.

It would be far truer to say that the framers of the Ordinal followed the views of reforming prelates within the Roman Church, such as Cardinal Quignonez and Ximenes, than that they followed the views of the "heterodox sects."

When the Apologist for the Bull leaves the safe generalities of the *Apostolicae Curæ* and deigns to give us quota-

tions from Anglican Divines to show us the spirit which guided the framers of the Ordinal, he quotes, not from the Anglican Divines of the sixteenth century, but from the writers of the present day—from the “Rock,” the Vicar of Hexton, and Bishop Ryle. The “Rock” we have not seen for many years. The fame of the present Vicar of Hexton has not reached us. Of the saintly Bishop of Liverpool, we may say that we have not read any of his works, though we have had them strongly recommended to us by several Roman Catholic Priests as having been most helpful to them in the preparation of sermons, and have seen them on the shelves of their scanty libraries. The “Rock” was, and is still, we presume, the organ of that small party of the Church of England that is most in sympathy with the Protestant dissenters, and, in its anxiety to emphasize the anti-Roman position of the Church and of the Reformers, has fallen into the error of overlooking the Catholic or positive side of both. Still, we have no doubt that when they speak against the *sacerdotium* or Priesthood, they mean to condemn not the Christian Priesthood, but certain views of Sacerdotalism, just as Cardinal Manning did when he condemned Sacramentalism in the Roman Church. However, be their opinions what they may, they neither affect the teaching of the Church itself, as contained in her past or present formularies, nor can they be accepted as witnesses to the intention of men who lived three hundred years ago.

As a commentary on the statement that the animus of the authors of the Ordinal was against the Catholic Church (*A. C. 77*), it is pertinent to point out that the constant

complaint levelled both against the Prayer Book and the Ordinal has been that it had not erected a new Church, and a new ministry. If the advice given to the Anglican Divines had been accepted, England would have had both, just as Germany had in Lutheranism, and Switzerland in Calvinism. Abroad, a new organism was called into being. In England, the opposite was the case. Hence in the terrible times of the Commonwealth, when Puritanism ran riot, every effort was made to stamp out the Church of England. Her enemies acknowledged that she was no new sect, called into life a hundred years previously, but that it was the old Church, the old Priesthood, the old Episcopate, with its fountains of sacramental grace. Consequently, whenever men seceded from the Church of England or her daughter Churches, their first care was to eliminate from the Anglican service books every trace of the *sacerdotium*, everything, in a word, which differentiates a sect from a branch of the Catholic Church.

Take only some of the Prayer Books issued in the United States by the separatist bodies.

The Prayer Book of the Reformed Dutch Church, published in 1767, has the Heidelberg Catechism. Its ministers are entitled Ministers of God's Word, Elders and Deacons.

In the Book of Common Prayer of the Evangelical Episcopal Church, issued in 1821, the word "Priest" in every rubric gives place to the word "Minister." The word "regenerate" disappears from the Baptismal Service. The Catechism, Order for Confirmation, Visitation of the Sick, Communion of the Sick, are all omitted. In ordination the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," are dropped.

The Prayer Book of "The Broad Church," published in 1859, in its preface claims that "the Church, if not a Divine institution, is at least a human necessity," and its Catechism, in reply to the question, "What is the great mission of the Church?" has the answer, "To make the world better in its practices"; and again, to the question, "What does the world need?" replies, "The Broad Church of Christ; the Church that will seek only to make men better; the Church whose Creed will be the Bible; whose field will be the world; and whose fellowship will extend to all the human family."

The Book of Public Prayer published in 1857 for the Presbyterians gives us a good idea of what the Book of Common Prayer would have been had Cranmer and the other Anglican Fathers followed the advice of the foreign reformers. Its preface distinctly claims that the "work is a compilation from the Liturgies which were prepared by Calvin, Knox, Bucer, and other Divines of the Reformed Church." The forms of ordination are those for ordaining Elders, Deacons and Ministers of the Word of God. A "Book of Common Prayer," published in 1864, was drawn up by the Rev. Charles W. Shields, D.D., who has written much on the subject of Liturgies, and on "unity." Here we have what is stated to be a book in conformity with the wishes of the Presbyterian Divines who attended the Savoy Conference of 1661. Of course the terms Priest, Bishop and "regenerate" disappear. The catechism is that of the Westminster Assembly. In the Communion Service, we have "Our blessed Lord, the same night in which He was betrayed, having taken bread, and blessed and broken it, gave it to

His disciples, as I, ministering in His Name, give this bread unto you: saying, Take, eat: this is My body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of Me."

In the Prayer Book of the Reformed Episcopal Church, published in 1874, for the "one Catholic and Apostolic Church" and "one baptism for the remission of sins" of the Nicene Creed, are substituted "the blessed company of all faithful people" and "the baptism of the Holy Ghost." The term "Bishops and Pastors" is changed to "Ministers of the Gospel." The manual acts are omitted from the Prayer of Consecration. A rule is inserted in the Communion Service that "the act and prayer of consecration do not change the nature of the elements, but merely set them apart for a holy use." The purport of confirmation is explained as in order that the candidates "may then give further testimony to their faith in Christ, and to their unchanged purpose to lead a new life, following the commandments of God and walking in His holy ways."

The following rubric is subjoined to the service:

"Members of other Churches, uniting with this Church, need not be confirmed, except at their own request." The ordination services are entitled "The Form of Ordaining Deacons, the Form of Ordaining Presbyters, the Form of Consecrating a Bishop."*

* The writer is indebted for the above particulars to the work of the Rev. John Wright, D.D., entitled "*Early Prayer Books of America.*"

CHAPTER XII.

ACTUAL END AND AIM OF THE FRAMERS OF THE ORDINAL.

IT IS TRUE: WE HAVE DEPARTED FROM THEM, AND FOR SO DOING, WE BOTH GIVE THANKS TO ALMIGHTY GOD AND GREATLY REJOICE ON OUR OWN BEHALF. BUT YET, FOR ALL THIS, FROM THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, FROM THE APOSTLES, AND FROM CHRIST WE HAVE NOT DEPARTED.—*Jewel.**

CANDID examination of the actual end and aim of the framers of the Ordinal will reveal a very different interpretation to that given in the Bull. It was not directed against the Catholic Church, however much the end in view might be the overthrow of the Roman dominion. We have the formal declaration of the framers of the Ordinal as to the end they had in view.

* "Apology," Vol. VI., p. 162.

From the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, 1559.

“If a man would search out by the ancient Fathers.”

“This godly, decent order of the ancient Fathers hath been so altered, broken, and neglected,” etc.

“The ancient Fathers have divided the psalms.”

“An order for prayer . . . much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers.”

From the Preface “Of Ceremonies,” 1559.

“But what would St. Augustine have said if he had seen the ceremonies of the late days used among us?” etc.

“And in these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe anything but to our own people only. For we think it convenient that every country should use such ceremonies as they shall think best, to the setting forth of God’s honour or glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition, and that they should put away other things which from time to time they perceive to be most abused, as in men’s ordinances it often chanceth diversely in divers countries.”

From the Preface to the Ministracion of Baptism, 1559.

“It appeareth by ancient writers that the Sacrament of Baptism,” etc.

From the Preface to Commination Service, 1559.

“In the primitive Church there was a godly discipline.” . . .

From the Preface to Ordinal, 1559.

“It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles’ time there hath been these Orders of ministers in Christ’s Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.”

From "The Order for the General Fast," 1563.

"In the primitive Church under the Gospel."

"And it cannot be denied, but that in this our time, wherein many things have been reformed according to the doctrine and examples of God's Word, and the primitive Church, this part for fasting," etc.

From all of which it may safely be affirmed that the end which the framers of the Book of Common Prayer and of the Ordinal had in view was to return to the doctrine of the primitive Church, as witnessed to by the ancient Fathers of the Church, and a continuation* of the Apostolic Ministry of Bishops, Priests and Deacons in the Church of England, who are to perform the like office and administration† as the Apostles‡ and Deacons did.

Such was the end of the framers of the Ordinal, as is manifest in the official language of the Church as set forth at that time.

If that end mislike the Bishop of Rome, we can only say with Jewel:

"O Gregory! O Augustine! O Hierom! O Chrysostom! O Leo! O Dionyse! O Anacletus! O Sixtus! O Paul! O Christ! if we be deceived herein, ye are they that have deceived us." §

* Preface to Ordinal.

† Almighty God, which of Thy Divine Providence, etc.

‡ Collect in Confirmation Service. Almighty, Everlasting God, etc.

§ Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, Vol. I., p. 29.

CHAPTER XIII.

LAW OF BELIEVING AND OF PRAYING.

THE ROMANISTS SCREEN THEMSELVES UNDER MODERN INFALLIBILITY, AND TAKE SANCTUARY COMMONLY IN THEIR OWN AUTHORITY AS SOLE JUDGES OF EVERYTHING, RATHER THAN REST THE ISSUE OF THE CAUSE UPON A STRICT AND FAIR ENQUIRY INTO ANCIENT FACT.—*Waterland.**

CONCERNING believing and praying, we are told in Sentence 78 :

“Being fully cognisant of the necessary connection between faith and worship, between ‘*the law of believing and the law of praying*;’ under a pretext of returning to the primitive form, they corrupted the liturgical order in many ways to suit the errors of the reformers.”

Another vague sentence, many words, little meaning.

We find in it, however, two grudging admissions, the first

* Vol. V., p. 325.

that the "authors of the Ordinal" knew the connection between the law of believing and the law of praying; in other words, that it was to exclude certain beliefs that they framed the Ordinal. They realized that certain prayers and rites had grown to convey to the popular mind erroneous beliefs. Or, to put it in the very words of the Prayer Book, "some at the first were of godly intent and purpose devised, and yet at length turned to vanity and superstition." The second admission is that the authors of the Ordinal wished "to return to the primitive form." The statement that the endeavour to return to primitive form was a mere pretext or excuse whereby they might corrupt the liturgical order to suit views known to be wrong or heretical, is a rather funny assertion. It savours very much of the test applied by the Inquisitors. If the accused was known to lead a good and moral life, then he must be a heretic. If to that crime he added love and reverence for Scriptures, then he was doubly damned. So the leaning to primitive form and practice on the part of the authors of the Ordinal casts suspicion on their motives.

As to how they corrupted the liturgical order, or what or whose errors they followed, it will be time enough to answer such broadcast accusations when particulars are given. It is sufficient to a general accusation to enter a general denial. The authors of the Ordinal neither corrupted the liturgical order, nor did they follow the "errors of the reformers."

Perhaps Leo XIII. is not content with so general a charge, and does enter into particulars. Let us then proceed to the next sentence:

"For this reason, in the whole Ordinal, not only is there no clear mention of the sacrifice, of consecration, of the *sacerdotium* and of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice ; but, as we have just stated, every trace of these things, which had been in such prayers of the Catholic rite as they had not entirely rejected, was deliberately removed and struck out." (*A. C. 79.*)

Here we have a definite, though vaguely worded charge. Strange to say, however, it does not follow the argument of the previous sentence. There is no instance of corruption given. Not one error is named which they are said to have followed. Not a single name or clue is given as to the personality of "the reformers." The same stale accusations as were contained in Section 7 are again brought forward. So, notwithstanding the dictum that previous arguments "sufficed for all," or that it is not necessary to enter into details, yet the writer of the Bull returns again to the charge, evidently thinking that by much repetition he will be heard.

Let us examine this sentence.

"For this reason." For what reason ?

Is it on account of the connection between "the law of believing and the law of praying" that the framers of the Ordinal omitted certain matter which was contained in the older Ordinal? Or was it by "pretext of returning to the primitive form" that they did so? Or did they make certain omissions in order to corrupt the older order? Or did they make these omissions to suit the errors of certain unnamed persons vaguely called "reformers." It certainly is very hard to say what is the reason referred to. We are quite ready and, strange as it may seem to the Bishop

of Rome, joyful, to admit that the authors of the Ordinal did omit certain matters contained in the older Ordinal on account of the connection between belief and worship. What these omissions were we will shortly enumerate. We deny, however, that an omission can corrupt. It is the nature of an addition to corrupt, and not of an omission. We deny that a return to primitive form, no matter how imperfect that return may be, can corrupt or in any way harm any liturgical order. We deny that the omissions in the Edwardine or Elizabethan Ordinal were made to suit the errors of any one.

As to what the Edwardine Ordinal omitted, to answer that, we must first know the rite with which it is desired to compare it.

Leo XIII. says that it was the Catholic rite. But the Church Universal knows no such thing as "the Catholic rite." No one rite has ever been universally adopted, different nations had different rites. The Church of Rome herself does not now use the same rite or Ordinal that she did in the first century.

It may be said that the term "the Catholic rite" is here used in a restricted sense to describe the rite which was in use in England before the new Ordinal was set forth. Let us take it in that sense.

Now the rite which was in legal use in England before the Edwardine Ordinal was set forth was that known as the Sarum.* Let us examine it and see wherein the new Ordinal differs, and what it has omitted from its predecessor.

*See "Note on the Sarum Ordinal" in the Appendix for the principal variations between it and the present Roman Ordinal.

The things said to be omitted of which any clear mention is made, are four :

I. The Sacrifice.

II. Consecration.

III. The *sacerdotium*.

IV. The power of consecrating and offering sacrifice.

It will be seen that in the Sarum rite :

There is an allusion in the declaration by the Bishop of the duties of the Priest to "consecrate the Eucharist."

In the prayer "It is truly meet," we have : "Thus didst thou pour into Eleazar and Ithamar, the sons of Aaron, the full authority which Thou hadst given to their father, so that the ministry of Priests might suffice for the offering of saving victims and the Sacraments might be more frequently offered." When the hands of the candidates are blessed occur the words said by the Consecrator, "Bless and sanctify, O Lord, these the hands of Thy Priests, that they may consecrate the Hosts which are offered for the sins and negligences of the people." During the consecration of the hands, the Consecrator says, "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to consecrate and sanctify these hands by this anointing and our blessing, that whatever they shall consecrate may be consecrated," etc. When the chalice and paten are given, "Receive thou the power to offer sacrifice to God," etc. In the final benediction, "That you may be blessed in the priestly order, and may offer propitiatory sacrifices for the sins and offences of the people to Almighty God." The concluding monition to the newly ordained Priest is that he "shall diligently and honestly learn the order of the Mass and the Consecration, the Fraction and Com-

munion, from other Priests already learned therein." These are all the allusions in the Sarum rite to the four things which Leo XIII. says are not clearly mentioned in the Anglican Ordinal.

It will be noted and admitted that the above passages in the Sarum rite are practically identical with the corresponding passages in the present Roman Ordinal. Therefore, what we say in regard to the omissions of the Anglican Ordinal applies equally to the Roman, as well as to the Sarum rite.

First, as to the charge that the Anglican Ordinal omits clear mention of the sacrifice. What "clear mention of the sacrifice" do we find in the Sarum? The answer is, None. By "the sacrifice" is meant, we presume, the one sacrifice which Christ, Himself, offered on the Cross. There can surely be no other sacrifice which can justly be designated "the Sacrifice." The Sarum Ordinal has no "clear mention" of that sacrifice. Further, that Ordinal contains no mention of that sacrifice at all, nor is there even any allusion to it. The first charge, therefore, falls to the ground. There can be no omission of an omission. What is not in the older rite cannot be said to be omitted in the newer.

As to the second charge—omission of any clear mention of consecration. We admit that there is mention of consecration in the Sarum rite. Mention of consecration of the Eucharist. Mention of consecrating Hosts. Mention of consecration in general—"whatsoever they shall consecrate."

As to the third charge—omission of any clear mention of the *sacerdotium*. We undoubtedly find mention of the

Christian Priesthood, both in the Sarum and in the present Roman rites.

We have already found when examining the Anglican Ordinal for Priests that there is in it a constant and clear mention of the *sacerdotium* and of the Christian Priesthood. Indeed, it is remarkable how strongly the *sacerdotium* is brought forward and insisted on in the English rite. The absence of all allusion to the Levitical Priesthood emphasizes the mention of Priesthood as referring all the more clearly to the Christian Priesthood.

As to the fourth charge—no clear mention of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice. We admit that the Sarum Ordinal does contain a clear mention of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice.

“That they may consecrate the Hosts which are offered.”

“The offering of saving victims.”

“Receive thou power to offer sacrifice to God.”

“May (you) offer propitiatory sacrifices,” etc.

We therefore plead guilty to two out of the four charges of omission.

We admit, first of all, that the Sarum Ordinal did contain a clear mention “of consecration” and “of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice,” and we further admit that these words and terms were omitted in the Anglican Ordinal. The adversary can derive what comfort he likes from these admissions. Not to entangle the present argument, we defer giving the reason for these omissions till we come to consider the question of sacrifice, which, when examining Section 7, we promised to consider at some length.

Let these admissions of omissions on our part be noted,

and let us pass on to the next sentence in the arraignment.

"But as we have just stated, every trace of these things, which had been in such prayers of the Catholic rite as they had not entirely rejected, was deliberately removed and struck out." (*A. C. 79.*)

We plead "not guilty" to the first and third charges as to omission of the Sacrifice and of the *sacerdotium* from the Anglican Ordinal, but guilty to the second and fourth charges as to omission of mention of consecration and power of consecrating and offering in Sacrifice, and so pass on to the consideration of the next point.

CHAPTER XIV.

VALIDATION FROM TIME.

THE FAITH DOES NOT CHANGE IN ANY WAY WITH TIME OR CIRCUMSTANCES.—
*The Church of Constantinople to Leo XIII.**

APOSTOLICÆ CURÆ.

80 *In this way the native character—or spirit as it is called—of the
81 Ordinal clearly manifests itself. Hence, if vitiated in its origin, it
was wholly insufficient to confer Orders, it was impossible that in
the course of time it would become sufficient, since no change
82 taken place. In vain those who from the time of Charles I. have
attempted to hold some kind of sacrifice or of Priesthood have made
83 some additions to the Ordinal. In vain also has been the conten-
tion of that small section of the Anglican body, formed in recent
times, that the said Ordinal can be understood and interpreted in a
84 sound and orthodox sense. Such efforts we affirm have been and
are made in vain, and for this reason, that any words in the An-
glican Ordinal, as it now is, which lend themselves to ambiguity,*

* Page 25.

cannot be taken in the same sense as they possess in the Catholic rite.

85 For once a new rite has been initiated, in which, as we have seen, the Sacrament of Orders is adulterated or denied, and from which all idea of consecration and sacrifice has been rejected, the formula, "Receive the Holy Ghost," no longer holds good, because the Spirit is infused into the soul with the grace of the Sacrament, and the words "for the office and work of a Priest or Bishop," and the like no longer hold good, but remain as words without the reality which Christ instituted.

OUT of this mass of verbiage let us see if we can distinguish any clear argument.

First we are told that if the Ordinal was "vitiated in its origin it was wholly insufficient to confer Orders," to which we heartily agree. Section 7 contained the same argument in different words. The conclusion of the sentence, however, contradicts everything which can be said to follow from the first half.

"It was impossible that in the course of time it would become sufficient, since no change had taken place."

Here is heresy of the rankest kind. Here is the Roman doctrine of expediency in its most unblushing form. It is gravely maintained that if there had been a change in the Ordinal that would have validated Anglican Orders! This is looking upon words and forms as fetishes, and giving to human phrases a miracle-working power, the belief in which Roman controversialists have deplored, as existing, it may be true, among the rude and unlettered of the middle ages, or even among ignorant Italian peasantry of the present day, but no such statement has ever been advanced by theologians of repute. Yet here Leo XIII. and his Cardinals

do most gravely inform us that if a change had taken place in the Ordinal, in course of time the Ordinal would have become sufficient. We hold no such doctrine. We boldly affirm that if the Edwardine or Elizabethan Ordinal, as administered by the then living Bishops, did not make Priests, then no subsequent change in the Ordinal could ever operate so as to make laymen into Priests at the hands of a man who was not a Bishop, because he himself was consecrated under a defective Ordinal. We unshrinkingly affirm that the Consecrator is greater than the words. That for making a man a Bishop or a Priest there is necessarily before all things a Bishop. Hence, if the Elizabethan Bishops were laymen no subsequent change in the wording of the Ordinal could ever make Priests of laymen, and that no "course of time," no matter how prolonged, could be of avail. It is a most remarkable statement, this of the Roman Curia, and worth pondering well over. Is it an intimation that if the Anglican Church would only now submit to the Vatican, and consequently change its Ordinal, the Elizabethan Ordinal would, "in course of time," be recognized? We believe it is. Whether it be so or not, it is certainly a most grave heresy. It is a heresy which, however, seems to grow plausible the more Leo XIII. considers it. For he goes on to look at it from different points of view. He calmly tells us that the additions to the Ordinal since the time of Charles I. have been in vain, and that the views which some persons have held as to the kind of sacrifice and of Priesthood have also been in vain. If it were not such grave heresy, it would be most exquisite fooling.

When we are told that certain changes and views are in

vain, we necessarily ask what changes and views would not be in vain? The implied answer is not far to seek. Change the wording of the Ordinal to that of the Roman. Change your views to those of an Italian Bishop, and those changes would not be in vain, and the discarded Anglican Ordinal would no longer be considered as having been vitiated in its origin. A few ordinations under the new Romanized Ordinal, a few pastorals or tracts from the new Anglo-Roman Clergy endorsing the latest views in fashion at the Vatican, and all would be well. The vigour of the Roman change would be so strong that it would flow backwards and validate the vitiated past.

No; we do not believe that any change in the Ordinal, nor any changed views about the Ordinal, will ever give England a Priesthood if it has it not now. When Leo says that "In vain also has been the contention of that small section of the Anglican body, formed in recent times, that the said Ordinal can be understood and interpreted in a sound and orthodox sense," we thoroughly agree with him. If the Elizabethan Ordinal did not make Priests, calling a man a Priest, instead of a minister or clergyman, will not make him one. If the Elizabethan Ordinal did not confer on a man the power to consecrate or to offer sacrifice, the constant use of such terms as "Sacrifice," "Mass," "Sacrifice of the Mass," or whatever Roman term may be the most correct, will certainly not convey that power. The use of such words is a mere parrot's cry.

"Such efforts, we affirm, have been and are made in vain, and for this reason—that any words in the Anglican Ordinal, as it now is, which lend themselves to ambiguity cannot be

taken in the same sense as they possess in the Catholic rite."
(*A. C. 84.*)

We cordially endorse the opening words of this sentence, that "such efforts have been and are made in vain," and for the reasons given by Leo himself that, if vitiated in its origin, "a century had already elapsed since the adoption of the Edwardine Ordinal, for, as the Hierarchy had become extinct, there remained no power of ordaining." (*A. C. 66.*)

To affirm, however, that the Edwardine Ordinal is invalid, because the words common to both it and the Roman use are not to have a common meaning, is absurd. Is not God the Father the same God both pray to? Is not Christ the same Christ? Is not the Holy Spirit the same Holy Spirit? Are not the Holy Scriptures the same Holy Scriptures? Are the sins to be forgiven under the Edwardine Ordinal different from those to be forgiven under the Roman? Are God's Holy Sacraments to be considered to mean ordinances not instituted by Christ in one Ordinal, and the reverse in the other? Is the Word of God to be interpreted as meaning one thing in the Roman and another in the Anglican?

Is the word *Priest* or *Sacerdos* to mean one sacred order of the ministry in one Ordinal and not in the other? Is the word *Bishop* or *Episcopus* to mean a Christian Pastor in one Ordinal and not in the other? It might as well be asserted that the word *Candidate* refers to one rank of created beings in one Ordinal, and to another rank in the other; to men of this earth in one, and to inhabitants of Mars in the other.

The utmost that can be said in support of a different sense for each word in the two Ordinals, is that while God

remains the same, and the Holy Scriptures the same, and the sins the same, and the Sacraments the same, and the Word of God the same, and the Priest the same, and the Bishop the same, and the man the same, the views concerning all these may not be the same in the two national Churches. God remains the same, though, since He has not created two human intelligences equal, the views men have of God are not the same. So is it with regard to all the other things above enumerated. A Christian Bishop is a Christian Bishop wherever he is, and whoever he is, but the clergy of his own diocese may have different views as to his order or office, as Leo XIII. himself admits, in the close of Section 7. So, therefore, while the words common to the Anglican and Roman Ordinals must and do represent the same things, yet the views which a Romanist takes of many of the things enumerated may be different from the views an Anglican takes of them. Yet in their entity and being the things themselves are unchanged, whatever differing views may be taken of them. Truth is external. No view we may take of Truth will or can affect the Truth itself. So it is with any fact or existence. No view we can take of the sun, nor any opinion we may hold as to its origin or constitution, can affect the sun, alter its origin or change its constitution.

CHAPTER XV.

ANGLICAN ORDINAL NO NEW RITE.

WE HAVE DONE NOTHING IN THAT ALTERATION OF THINGS THAT NOW APPEARETH, BUT REMOVED ABUSES THEN DISLIKED, AND SHAKEN OFF THE YOKE OF TYRANNY WHICH THE ROMAN CHURCH IN HER BEST PARTS DID EVER DESIRE TO BE FREED FROM.—*Field.**

APOSTOLICÆ CURÆ.

85 *For once a new rite has been initiated in which, as we have seen, the Sacrament of Orders is adulterated or denied, and from which all idea of consecration and sacrifice has been rejected, the formula, "Receive the Holy Ghost," no longer holds good, because the spirit is infused into the soul with the grace of the Sacrament, and the words "for the office and work of a Priest or Bishop" and*

* Vol. IV., p. 526.

the like no longer hold good, but remain as words without the reality which Christ instituted.

WHEREIN can the Anglican Ordinal be said to be a new rite? If in the sense that a change in the wording or of the ceremonies makes it a new rite, then we admit the Anglican Ordinal to be a new rite. So, however, is the Roman. The Roman is really a succession of new rites. If, however, a new rite be taken to mean a new ordinance, or a service enshrining a new institution, as, for example, the service known as the "Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament," where not only is the whole service a new service, unknown to all Christendom and to all antiquity, but the very use of the consecrated elements which the service is constructed to set forth is also new, novel and modern, unknown to antiquity and to the Scriptures, no matter how excellent the motive for such a service may be pleaded to be, yet all would agree that here was a "new rite."

To call the Anglican Ordinal a "new rite" in that sense would be manifestly absurd, for the Ordinal expressly entitles itself "The Form and Manner of Making and Consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons." In other words, of making not new officers, previously unknown to Christendom, but those which Christendom had universally recognized as essential to the existence of the Church of Christ. And that these officers were not to be new officials, preserving the old name but having radically different powers or duties, is apparent from the history of the Church of England, even if the Preface had never been written. That Preface distinctly claims that the Bishops, Priests and Dea-

cons to be made under the new Ordinal are a continuation of the Bishops, Priests and Deacons of the Church of England in the past, and of Christ's Church, since the Apostles' time. This is indeed so evident that the very latest device of Roman controversialists is to admit this, but to find refuge in the sophistry that though the Church of England may claim the ministry as far back as the Apostles' time yet she cannot go back to Christ's time, because she explicitly states in her Preface to the Ordinal that her ministry dates only from the Apostles' time, and not from Christ's time. "They (that is, Anglican writers) are quite willing to grant that the existing grades of the Church's ministry date from the Apostles only, and do not insist that they must have come from Christ Himself. 'It is evident to all men,' says the Preface to this Ordinal, 'that *from the Apostles' time** there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church.'"[†] Because the Church says what is an incontrovertible fact, that her three-fold ministry can be traced to the Apostles' time, she does not say or imply that they could not have come from Christ Himself. To intimate that she does is mere sophistry.

To take the Ordinal for Priests alone, the Anglican Church refers the origin of her ministry to God alone, throughout the whole Ordinal.

1°. By implication, to Christ, since it selects as optional Gospels our Lord's Commission, our Lord's Pastoral Charge, and our Lord's inbreathing on the Apostles with the form, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," etc.

* The italics are not ours.

† Barnes, p. 39.

2°. Directly from God the Holy Spirit in its precatory collect.

3°. By the vow of the Priest to minister the discipline of Christ.

4°. Directly from God the Father, who has called His servants to the same office and ministry as Jesus Christ did His Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, etc., in the prayer preceding the Imposition of hands.

5°. Declaratory; in its collect, composed in 1549, where it recognizes that the Church, though built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, has yet Jesus Christ, Himself, as the head corner-stone.

The Bull proceeds to state that this new rite "has been initiated, in which we have seen the Sacrament of Orders is adulterated or denied, and from which all idea of consecration and sacrifice has been rejected." (*A. C. 85.*)

The mere repetition of statements does not increase their accuracy, as the writer of the Bull evidently thinks. This sentence is but a repetition in slightly different words of the previous sentence that the Sacrament of Orders was eliminated from the Anglican rite. We considered the value of that assertion then, and can, therefore, simply deny the truth of the fresh statement, that the Sacrament of Orders has been "adulterated or denied" in the Anglican rite. As to whether all idea of "consecration and of sacrifice has been rejected," we will, as before said, examine later on. We are now told that the formula, "*Receive the Holy Ghost,*" no longer holds good. From this we note that that formula would, under certain circumstances, hold good. This is what we have contended for, when examining Section 7.

Leo XIII. there laid down that the matter in ordination was Imposition of hands. And the drift of the Papal argument was that "Receive the Holy Ghost" was the form. In examining the Roman Ordinal and degradation services we saw clearly enough that the formula, "Receive the Holy Ghost" was logically essential to the complete ordination of a Priest. And now the Bull declares that owing to certain causes the formula, "Receive the Holy Ghost," no longer holds good, which is to say that it formerly held good; and that were it not for what it considers vitiating causes it would still hold good. We have therefore gained so much: that Imposition of hands, accompanied by "Receive the Holy Ghost," may constitute the matter and the form necessary for a valid ordination.

Let us examine the reasons given in the Bull for the statement that the above form and matter did not effect a valid ordination when used in the Anglican Ordinal. The reasons are, that the formula no longer holds good "because the Spirit is infused into the soul with the grace of the Sacrament," by which we understand that by the term "grace of the Sacrament" is meant not the help or aid which comes to a man in his priestly work, but the grace which is bestowed on him at his ordination—the grace which is but another name for what the schoolmen called "character." Such a grace or character is imparted to the soul at every valid ordination. This with the Bishop of Rome we believe, but we do not believe that the "Spirit is infused into the soul with the grace of the Sacrament." We believe that the grace or character is dependent upon the Holy Spirit, and not the Holy Spirit upon the

grace. It is through the Holy Ghost that the grace of the Sacrament of Orders is imparted. The grace is infused into the soul with the Holy Spirit, and not, as the Bull states, the Holy Spirit with the grace. However, we do not wish to press this distinction too far in the present case, though it is a very important one, and we are ready to admit the truth which we believe Leo XIII. intends to enunciate, that to the recipient of a valid ordination there is imparted both the Holy Ghost and the grace or character of Holy Orders. Granting this truth, we fail to see that the enunciation of it tells against the Anglican Ordinal, and that the formula, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, whether with or without the words, *for the office and work of a Priest or Bishop*, "remain as words without the reality which Christ instituted." If this clumsy sentence, however, be carefully read, it will be found that the real animus of it lies in the declaration that all "idea of consecration and sacrifice has been rejected" from the Anglican Ordinal. It is held upon that unproved assumption that the Anglican Orders are invalid; that the recitation of the formula, "Receive the Holy Ghost," or any other, is void and of no effect, and that since no Orders are conferred, the Holy Ghost is not infused, and consequently no grace or character imparted; that the formula is mere words and nothing more—words, inert, inoperative, lifeless, in no way charged with, or bearing the reality which Christ instituted. This is certainly the meaning of this sentence, and the underlying meaning of the two following which conclude Section 8.

"Several of the more shrewd Anglican interpreters of the Ordinal have perceived the force of this argument, and they

openly urge it against those who take the Ordinal in a new sense, and vainly attach to the Orders conferred a value and efficacy which they do not possess. By this same argument is refuted the contention of those who think that the prayer, '*Almighty God, Giver of all good things,*' which is found at the beginning of the ritual action, might suffice as a legitimate 'form' of Orders, even in the hypothesis that it might be held to be sufficient in a Catholic rite approved by the Church." (*A. C. 86.*)

The contention has at last narrowed itself down to the very plain issue, that to a valid Ordinal there must be "clear mention of the sacrifice, of consecration, of the *sacerdotium*, and of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice." Driven from corner to corner, the Roman Curia now stands at bay. It has practically conceded every point contended for by Anglicans in the past: the historical continuity of the present occupants of Anglican Sees, with those of the pre-reformation era; the validity of the form and matter of the Edwardine or Elizabethan Ordinal. But it intrenches itself in this position. Your Priests were never intended to be sacrificing Priests. Your Ordinal nowhere by ritual action or by definite prayer even alludes to such a Priesthood. Your Priests are therefore not sacrificing Priests, and being not sacrificing Priests are no Priests at all. This is the declaration of the Roman position. We think that we have put it even more clearly, and certainly more concisely than Leo XIII. has done. We have no wish to shirk any issue. We have no desire to pass by any challenge, direct or indirect. Our desire is to meet every issue squarely. Our wish is to meet our adversary in the open, face to face. The

time has now come therefore for us to consider whatever arguments the Bull has to bring forward on the question of "Sacrificing Priests," the consideration of which we have purposely postponed. We believe that we have honestly examined, point by point, every other argument, argumentation, or plea. We leave it to others to decide on whose side lies the balance of the argument, on that of Rome or Canterbury.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD OR TRUE SACERDOTIUM.

I. WHEN GIVEN AND WITH WHAT POWERS.

ALL SACERDOTAL POWER WAS NOW CONFERRED UPON THE APOSTLES, EVEN WHATSOEVER IS NECESSARY TO THE GOVERNMENT AND EDIFICATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE WORLD'S END.—*Beveridge*.*

GROUPING the statements of the Bull dealing with sacrifice and the *sacerdotium*, and which were reserved for consideration, they will be found to be four.

1°. Has the Anglican Episcopate and Church the true *sacerdotium*?

2°. When the Sarum rite was examined it was admitted that in it there was

(a) Clear mention of consecration.

* Quoted in Denton's *Grace of the Ministry*, p. 63.

(b) Clear mention of the power of offering and consecrating sacrifice, and that the Anglican Ordinal does not contain these words and terms.

3°. The plain issue is narrowed down at last that in order to a valid ordination there must be "clear mention of the sacrifice, of consecration, of the *sacerdotium*, and of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice." In other words, our Priests were never entitled to be sacrificing Priests. Our Ordinal nowhere by ritual action or definite prayer ever alludes to such a Priesthood.

4°. Anglican Priests are not sacrificing Priests, and not being sacrificing Priests are not Priests at all.

The above points cover, we believe, all that in the course of the previous argument we deferred for future consideration. Stripped of all its historical allusions and verbiage, the real Papal position is a very clear and definite one. It is a challenge to Anglicans to defend their position by appealing to antiquity against them. The challenge is not so squarely defined as this, but after all, that is certainly the challenge, strange as it may sound in Anglican ears. It will be remembered that when we stated what the question at issue was, in the introduction, p. 10, we noted it as being :

"Has the Church of England the Christian Priesthood as instituted by Christ?"

Rome claims that we have not the true Sacrament of Orders as instituted by Christ. The corollary follows that Rome has this true Sacrament of Orders. To decide which of these conflicting rivals has the true Sacrament of Orders, we must first see what our Lord instituted, and wherein the true *sacerdotium* or true Christian Priesthood consists, as

defined by the Apostolic writings. The passage wherein our Lord promises to St. Peter that He will build His Church on the rock, and that He will give unto him the keys of Heaven and earth, and that whatsoever he shall bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever he shall loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven,* need not detain us. It is a promise, and not a gift of power. While it is a text upon which Rome endeavours to rear its superstructure of Universal Sovereignty, and worthy of consideration in her arguments on that head, yet, as we do not propose to discuss those claims, we need not stay to consider its bearing. The more so that neither Rome nor any Christian body has taken this text as the one recording the ordination of the Apostles to their ministry. The similar text where the same power of binding and loosing is promised to all the Apostles,† can also be passed over without comment. The classical text is the one where our Lord, after His Resurrection, having all power and authority committed to Him, solemnly says unto them :

“As my Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.

“And when He had said this, He breathed on them and saith unto them:

“Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.”‡

Surely it was at this insufflation of the Second Person of the Ever Blessed Trinity, that the Third Person was grant-

* St. Matthew xvi. 18, 19.

† St. Matthew xviii. 18.

‡ St. John xx. 21, 22, 23.

ed unto them, that they might do the work and will of the First Person. On this occasion, to use the words of Bishop Beveridge, "all sacerdotal power was now conferred upon the Apostles, even whatsoever is necessary to the government and edification of the Church to the world's end." *

Connected with this bestowal of power on the eleven, there are two weighty charges or commands.

First in point of time, the one when at the Last Supper our Lord said unto the Apostles, as recorded by St. Luke and St. Paul: "This do in remembrance of Me." † And secondly, when on the point of ascending into Heaven He said to them, as recorded by St. Mark:‡ "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." And more fully by St. Matthew: "All power is given unto Me, in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." §

The commands of

- (1) Doing what He had done at the Last Supper,
- (2) Evangelizing the world ·
- (3) Making disciples,
- (4) Baptizing and
- (5) Teaching His commands till the end of the world.

These are what we might term the official duties of the

* Cf. *Grace of the Ministry*, p. 63.

† St. Luke xxii. 19. I. Cor. xi. 24.

‡ St. Mark xvi. 15.

§ St. Matthew xxviii. 18, 19, 20.

Christian Priesthood. Any duties not included in these five enumerated by our Lord cannot be said to belong by Divine right to the Christian Ministry, which claims to succeed to that of the Apostles. The gift of the Holy Ghost before the Lord's Ascension must not be confounded with that at Pentecost. The first was for the ordinary mission of the Apostles, the latter for their extraordinary mission as first propagators of the Gospel.

Nor can it be said that the Apostles received their full commission before the Resurrection. It is true that Roman Catholics have, since the period of the Council of Trent, emphasized more and more in their teaching that the ordination of the Apostles was at the Last Supper, and that the words "Do this" were the ordaining words. They have done this because they have been forced more and more to justify their teaching by appealing to Scripture, just as they magnified the power of St. Peter, not out of reverence to the Scriptures, or from a humble desire to be obedient in all things to the revealed Word of God, but because, having for purposes of dominion and overlordship extended the powers and prerogatives of the See of Rome, they afterwards sought, when pressed to defend their claims, to justify themselves by a solitary text of Scripture. A text which, however, they cannot twist into a conveyance of authority, but only into a promise of authority. Likewise, having magnified a certain aspect of the Holy Eucharist, they seek for confirmation of that view in predating the commission of the Christian Priesthood to the Eleven. They maintain that the Apostles were ordained or consecrated on the night before the betrayal. The Council of Trent declares

that our Lord, at the Last Supper, "delivered His own Body and Blood to be received by His Apostles, whom He then constituted Priests of the New Testament; and by those words, *Do this in commemoration of Me*, He commanded them and their successors in the Priesthood to offer them."* The denial of the cup to the laity forces the Romanists to look around for some text on which to hang their custom. By insisting on the pre-ordination at the Last Supper they thus confute their adversaries by pointing to the fact that on this occasion the Apostles received the Body and the Blood as Priests. Pressing the argument a little further, they could easily deny the Communion to the laity entirely. All that the laity would then have to do would be just to watch the Celebrant. This, in fact, has lately been put forward with all sober seriousness. With the Catholic "his service is something higher and greater than mere prayer: it is a tremendous sacrifice; and as the sacrifice may be offered entirely independent of prayer, it matters but little whether the share prayer takes in it be little or great, provided everything else is duly ordered. For which reason some of the ablest spiritual writers have said again and again that one of the most efficacious ways of hearing Mass is to watch the actions of the Priest at the Altar with great attention from beginning to end, and look as little at the Prayer Book as possible. A person who could do this without distraction would reap incalculable spiritual fruit from it, and would, without a doubt, be assisting at Mass in the strictest sense of the word."† If

* Sess. XXII., Cap. 1., p. 153.

† O'Brien, p. 33.

the Roman view of a pre-ordination be examined, it will be found to contain some very startling teaching. Admit for the sake of argument that our Lord, as the Bishop of our souls, and the only true, authentic High Priest, ordained his Apostles by the words "Do this," then it follows that it was contrary to what the Church Universal has taught concerning the sacramental conveyance of power. When our Lord said these dread words, it has generally been believed that He accompanied them by an oblation or uplifting of the bread and wine. There was thus an outward and visible sign, typifying some great spiritual act. Now, Christian theology has ever maintained that this oblation of earthly elements was a visible and outward sign of the great oblation of our Lord Himself. That it not only typified the Sacrifice on the Cross, which was to follow in a few hours, but that it was a real and true offering of Himself to the Father. Will Romans have the hardihood to maintain that by this sacramental act our blessed Lord conveyed to His Apostles the right to offer Him to be sacrificed on Mount Calvary or at some such subsequent time, and that He did so without any accompanying external sign as regarded themselves? Our Lord ever gave power by some accompanying symbol. Here, if this was ordination or consecration to do an act beyond human power to perform, He gave them no power to do it with, nor did He even promise to give them the power in the future to enable them. There was no gift of the Holy Ghost. There was no promise even of such a gift. The Romans, however, maintain that when our Lord said those words, He did not mean any such thing as that the Apostles had the actual power of offering Christ as a sac-

rifice to the Father, but that He conveyed to the Apostles, at that moment of time, and at no other, the inherent power of their Priesthood, and particularly in its duty of "Doing this as a memorial of Him." Anglicans reply that our Lord did not then on that occasion, nor by those words, "Do this," convey any such power or authority to the Apostles. That what He did give them was a command to perform a certain service or act at a future time. That this "command" was one of those included in the final charge to observe all His commandments. If this be the actual ordination of the Apostles, and the Romans so believe it, then why do they not ordain in the same manner by the delivery of the like instruments? Christ gave the Apostles His Body and Blood, when He said "Do this." The Roman Pontiff gives into the hands of his candidates for the Priesthood mere bread and wine, unblessed and unconsecrated. The symbolic action, therefore, is very poor teaching. It either teaches that the power conveyed is a mere shadow of a true power, or else it teaches that our Lord gave into the hands of the Apostles mere bread and wine and not, as He said, His Body and Blood. Most truly do the words of Leo XIII. apply to this view of a pre-ordination. "That form consequently cannot be considered apt or sufficient for the Sacrament which omits what it ought essentially to signify." (*A. C. 9.*) When we look at what the Acts of the Apostles have to tell us in regard to what they considered to be the form of ordination, we find that it does not consist in any repetition of the words "Do this," or of any allusion to the Last Supper, as being the occasion of their ordination. We are told that it consisted in Imposition of hands and Prayers, accom-

panied by the gift of the Holy Ghost. The Apostles out of reverence dared not repeat the insufflation whereby they had received the Holy Ghost, but took as the outward symbol or sign the Imposition of hands. There is not a single allusion in the Scriptures to any reference to the Lord's Supper in connection with ordination, though there is nothing to make us disbelieve that the "breaking of bread" may not have formed a part of the whole service or ministration. Just as now, a Celebration takes place during the service of ordination, and is an integral part of, yet is not the Ordination Service. The real truth of the matter is, that Rome did not look for a text till she wanted to square her custom with the Bible. She had added to her Ordinal the words "Receive power to offer sacrifice to God and to celebrate Mass as well for the living as the dead." She had added previously to her ceremonies the delivery of the instruments, the chalice and paten. When notwithstanding the clever plan of starting an Index Expurgatorius, by which all learning might be kept "cribbed, cabined and confined," she found that she had to offer some apology for these additions, she brought forward this view of a pre-ordination so as to justify her words and ceremonies. It needs only to be added that if her view of this pre-ordination be a valid one, then certainly there has been no Christian ministry in Christendom at any time. For certainly there is no trace of any ordination to the Priesthood or to the Episcopate by any form or ceremony looking back to the Last Supper as the *fons et origo* of the Christian ministry. As for the Church of Rome herself, since according to the admission of Morinus the words, *Receive power to offer sacrifice*, etc.,

were not added till the tenth century, it would follow that, according to her own view, she had no true *sacerdotium* for nine hundred years at least. So again we concur with the principle enunciated by Leo XIII. applying it to Roman Orders. "Even if this addition could give to the form its due signification, it was introduced too late, as [nine] centuries had already elapsed since the adoption." (*A. C. 66.*) The tendency in modern Roman authors is to discard the view that ordination is conferred by the words, *Receive power to offer sacrifice*, etc., and consequently the pre-ordination view is kept in the background when Orders alone are treated on. While the Roman writer, Hunter, admits that "Imposition of hands alone is mentioned in Holy Scripture, and in the records of antiquity,"* he yet is loath to give up the necessity of the *traditio instrumentorum* and accompanying words, and proceeds to state that Roman writers of the present day assert:

"It is essential that the matter should signify the grace, for this is inherent in the nature of a Sacrament; they hold that the Imposition of hands, as explained by the form accompanying it, was at one time sufficiently significant, but that the Church has seen fit to require a still more significant ceremony in the West, so that Imposition of hands should not be sufficient unless followed by the express sign of the power of saying Mass. This view ascribes to the Church more power over the matter and form of the Sacraments than would be generally admitted, although it must be allowed that such power ex-

* Vol. III., p. 379.

ists, as we saw when speaking of the form of sacramental absolution.*

"But for many years past the tendency of theologians has been to regard the Imposition of hands as being alone the essential matter, and to put the tradition of the instruments expressing the power of sacrificing on a par with the closing ceremony which expresses the power of forgiving sins." †

A few words on this extract. It is an admission that Imposition of hands was not only scriptural and primitive, but that it was enough for a valid ordination, even in the Roman Church in former days. We are told, however, with some misgiving, let us confess, on the part of Hunter, that the Church of Rome chose to add to the original, valid and essential matter, and that consequently an ordination is invalid without the said addition. Let the reason given for this addition be noted well.

"It is essential that the matter should signify 'the grace.'" Since, therefore, the old essential scriptural and primitive form did not signify the grace of "saying Mass," therefore new "matter" with corresponding "form" must be inserted. It is not then the Christian Priesthood which the Roman Church desires to convey, but a Priesthood, the grace and power of which has to be signified by some new "matter" and "form" invented by the Church of Rome. If this be not admitted, then the Romans are logically driven to the abhorrent conclusion that the scriptural and primi-

* The reference to absolution is to the passage where the writer admits that the precatory form of absolution is the ancient one, and that the imperative form now used by Roman Priests is modern.

† Vol. III., p. 380.

tive matter and form were not essentially sufficient. A new covenanting Church was therefore called into existence by the Roman fiat to replace the lifeless Church of the Apostles and primitive antiquity.

Is not this the truth? Rome seeking to justify herself after the introduction of new doctrine. Thus does it obey the law of development and of growth. Not content with the faith of Nicæa, it adds and adds, as the centuries roll on, some new ceremony, some new definition in order to validate teaching which has crept in unawares, but has taken too firm a hold to be cast out. Thus does it preserve the purity of the faith, as a man preserves the pearl of great price by encasing it in layers and layers of cement. When the "*traditio instrumentorum*" is, however, relegated as a matter of secondary consequence with the power of remitting sins at the end of the service, we find fresh matter for wonder. In the first place, the power of remitting sins is a God-given power, and is accompanied by a form which, if not ancient, is at any rate scriptural. The *traditio* is neither ancient nor scriptural. The form "to offer sacrifice" or to say Mass, is also neither ancient nor scriptural. However, if the *traditio* and accompanying form, and the power of remitting sins with the accompanying form of Imposition of hands, are both of them of secondary importance, then comes in again the difficulty we encountered when examining "Rome's declarations on form and matter." Eliminate the last form, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, and the accompanying Imposition of hands from the Roman Ordinal, and you have left as the only actual Imposition of hands one disconnected with any form, and taking place long before the Veni

Creator is sung. It is their great stress to justify their idea of *sacerdotium* that places them in all these absurd dilemmas. Leo XIII., himself, when he admits that Imposition of hands is the matter in Holy Orders, is yet forced to go on in self defence of the position he has taken up, to add that the chief power of the Priesthood is not conveyed by the *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, but that the form should express "*the power of consecrating and of offering the true Body and Blood of the Lord.*" (*A. C. 64.*) He brings this forward so as to prove that Anglicans have not the true *sacerdotium*. It is pertinent to observe, in passing, that the Roman Ordinal itself does not contain any such words, nor any words that in themselves directly convey this meaning. The words in the Roman Ordinal are, "Receive power to offer sacrifice to God and to celebrate Mass, as well as for the living as for the dead." To offer sacrifice to God is a generic term, and one which, taken in its literal sense, no Christian will deny as a power of the Christian Priest or layman. To celebrate Mass is a term which may or may not mean consecrating and offering the true Body and Blood of the Lord, and certainly to "celebrate Mass for the living and for the dead" may mean one thing nowadays in the ears of a Romanist, but it is not so certain that it originally meant the same thing to Romanists when the term first came into use some centuries ago. The Roman Ordinal for Deacons proves this, where the Deacon is given "power of reading the Gospel in the Church of God, both for the living and for the dead."

Mr. Hunter sums up the argument on this subject by saying :

"It need hardly be said that in the West the omission of either the Imposition of hands or of the tradition would render the Ordination doubtful if not void; and, therefore, no one who had gone through a maimed ceremony could lawfully exercise any Order he possessed, until he had been again ordained, at least conditionally."*

Here then we have Imposition of hands put on a par with tradition of instruments. We are therefore quite justified in saying that though with one breath she asserts Imposition of hands as the only essential form, yet she quickly adds, "Without *traditio instrumentorum* there can be no Orders." The reason of this tenacious clinging to the *traditio* is because, as has now been sufficiently shown, that with it she fears, and justly fears, will go her doctrine of the *sacerdotium*. It is not the true Christian *sacerdotium* that she is anxious to preserve—it is the Roman *sacerdotium* which Leo XIII. defines as "chiefly the power of consecrating and offering the true body and blood of the Lord." (A. C. 64.)

Let us therefore accept what Romanists themselves practically cease to deny, that the ordination of the Apostles to the Christian Priesthood and Episcopate was that recorded in the twentieth chapter of John, and that we are to look for the full enumeration of the powers conveyed by that ordination, as given by St. Matthew xxviii. 18, 19, and St. Mark xvi. 15, 16, as well as to chapter xx. vv. 21, 22, 23, of St. John.

The powers there given may be subdivided into seven. Believing as we do, that all things are written for our

* Vol. III., p. 381.

learning, and that the Holy Ghost inspired the writers of the sacred narratives, it certainly will not be amiss to note the order in which the powers of the true Christian Priesthood are enumerated in the words recorded by St. Matthew.*

1°. We have the power to "teach all nations," or make disciples of them.

This is undoubtedly the first duty of the Episcopate and Priesthood—this duty of converting men and women to the faith of the Gospel, and of keeping them in that faith. "How then shall they call on Him in Whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in Him of Whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?"† exclaims the Apostle St. Paul, with his characteristic common sense. The Gospel may be taught in two ways, either by word of mouth, by sermons and instruction, or by writings, by books. The Apostles followed both courses. Teaching by preaching or by writing is then the first duty of the Christian Priesthood or true *sacerdotium*.

2°. We have the power or duty of planting missions among the heathen. This may be said to be included in

* In the treatise on the duty of Parish Priests as translated by the Rev. R. W. Blackmore in his work, *The Doctrine of the Russian Church*, under the ninth head, p. 153, we read: "The Priestly office and yoke consists principally in four parts: i. Teaching; ii. In living holily; iii. In ministering the Sacraments; iv. In praying for the people." The prayer in the present Ordination of a Priest in the Eastern Church enumerates the duties of a Priest in the following order: preaching, discharging the Sacred Ministry of the Word of Truth, offering gifts and spiritual sacrifices, and renewing God's people through the laver of regeneration.

† Romans x. 14.

the power or duty of the Christian ministry to teach "*All Nations.*"

3°. The power of baptizing. This was the third official duty or power of the Apostles, and consequently of the Christian Priesthood.

To the powers or duties as recorded by St. Matthew we have to add the one previously given.

4°. The power of binding and loosing, and of remitting and retaining sins.

Under the power of teaching whatsoever things Christ had taught them, we obtain at least three further divisions of the duties and powers of the Apostolate and Christian *sacerdotium*, namely:

5°. The power of administering the Holy Eucharist. (We adopt this designation to avoid using controversial terms.)

6°. The power of offering sacrifice.

7°. The power of teaching the moral law.

The *sacerdotium* thus conferred in its plenitude on the Apostles after our Lord's Resurrection may rightly be termed the *summum sacerdotium*, and the Apostles may rightly be called both Priests and Bishops. "The first Bishops in the Church of Christ were His blessed Apostles; for the office whereunto Matthias was chosen the sacred history doth term ἐπισκοπήν, an Episcopal office, which being spoken expressly of one, agreeth no less unto them all than unto him."* Of the powers given to the Apostles it may be said that they belong not to the *sacerdotium*, but rather to the *summum sacerdotium*, and that therefore some of them may not be inherent in a Priest or *sacerdos*. Into

* Hooker, Vol. II., p. 336.

the distinctions raised by the Schoolmen as to how far the powers given to the Apostles may be said to belong to the *summum sacerdotium* rather than to the *sacerdotium*, it is not our province to enter. All, whether Anglicans, Romans, or Schoolmen, admit that whatever powers were conferred by Christ on the Apostles were by them conferred on their successors, and that Bishops hold the plenitude of Apostolic and sacerdotal power. The *sacerdotium* of a Priest is derived from the Bishop who ordained him, and is inherent in him by virtue of his office, though his exercise of that *sacerdotium* may be limited in some respects by his Bishop. The exercise of the powers given at ordination may in the case of Bishop and Priest alike be restrained by the laws of the Church. But into the nature and limits of these restraints we do not propose to enter. We go not beyond the general agreement, that all spiritual acts, whether they be those of Bishop or Priest, acquire their validity from the power given at ordination or consecration. Let it suffice that for our argument we mean by the powers of the *sacerdotium* all such powers as belong to the Priest in his office and work.

Let us then see whether the above-named seven powers of the Christian Priesthood are all of them or any one of them the exclusive right of the Roman Church, and whether the Anglican Church can claim them or any of them.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD OR TRUE SACERDOTIUM.

II. ITS POWER OF TEACHING.

IN ENGLAND, WHERE WITH THE STUDY
OF TRUTH, FLOURISHES THE STUDY OF
ANTIQUITY.—*Casaubon*.*

TEACHING orally or by writings is, as we have seen, the first power of the Christian Priesthood. The Church of Rome, singularly enough, has produced very few preachers and teachers among its Bishops. Out of its long list, from Linus its first, to Leo XIII., its present, Bishop, there have been only four who can, even by courtesy, be called teachers—Leo the Great, in 440; Gregory the Great, 590; Innocent III., 1198, and Benedict XIV., in 1740.

* Quoted by Waterland, Vol. V., p. 318.

Not one of the Popes has left behind him the reputation of having been a preacher of eminence. Indeed, the Bishops of Rome seem to have given up the first duty of their Christian *sacerdotium* in despair, for we know of no Bishop since Paul IV. who even attempted to preach. Of him, the biographer remarks, as a trait of his exceeding zeal for reforming the Church and of his own personal piety, that he not only insisted, to their real dismay, on the Cardinals preaching, but actually preached himself. Nor has Rome, as a Church apart from its Bishops, rendered any help to the Church Universal in her great warfare against error. The great Arian intellectual war was fought out without any aid from Rome. Just as in the last century the great conflict with deism was won by the help of the scholars of the Church of England, Rome not contributing a single weapon in the warfare. In these latter days we are not aware of a single Roman scholar who has helped the Church in the battles waged on the questions raised by the so-called higher critics, or by scientific agnostics. When in the West Christianity ceased to be Greek, but became Latin, that is, when Rome came to have full dominion over men's minds, then, as all historians agree, were the dark ages. At the present time it is in those few countries where Roman rule is still accepted exclusively that we find the grossest ignorance and superstition, not in secular matters only, but in those of religion also. Rome, forgetting her origin as a colony of Greek Christians, has imposed on Christendom under penalty of excommunication not any edition of the Greek Scriptures, but a faulty Latin translation. One edition of the Vulgate, so issued and imposed, had to be promptly

recalled, amid the laughter and derision of Europe, for its almost countless blunders. As for an edition of the original text no Greek Testament was ever printed in Rome before 1858.

Rome has never had any teaching school of theology. Even in the middle ages men had to go to St. Gall, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Bologna and other places if they wanted to learn about the Scriptures, as in former ages men had to seek knowledge at Alexandria and not at Rome. Just as apologists of Rome have declared that the wickedness of its Bishops and clergy is a sign of Divine Providence, since in no other way could its continued preservation be accounted for, so in the early centuries the learned Greek clergy explained the ignorance of the Roman clergy—an ignorance admitted by their own Bishops from Agathos to Gregory II. The *Index*, which was started for the double purpose of killing the book trade in Venice and diverting it to Rome, and of preventing the flock committed to the Bishop of Rome from knowing the Scriptures and cognate studies, did its work so effectually that Paul V. and the Inquisition thought they had at last found the weapon wherewith to stifle all searching after the truth. That they could “suppress criticism and Church history, or at least keep the mass of the clergy in ignorance of them. The *Index* was just then so vigorously worked that scholars were reduced to despair, and many had to abandon their theological studies. In Germany matters had come to such a pass, under the influence of the Jesuits in 1599, that Catholics had to give up studying altogether, for they could no longer use lexicons, compendiums or indexes. Even the

Bishops were forbidden to read any book condemned at Rome.* The triumph of the Jesuits is really the triumph of ignorance over knowledge. Whatever some of the other Orders may have done in their houses outside of Rome to promote learning, the Jesuits cannot share that praise. Their cardinal principle, the surrender of the intellect not to the Church of Rome, or to the Universal Church, or to their superiors on account of their acknowledged greater learning, but to their mere ecclesiastical superior, quite irrespective of his learning or holiness, is the triumph of matter over mind. It is on the part of the clergy the utter surrender and negation of their divinely given power of teaching. It cannot consequently be considered as strange that some of the Roman clergy were unable to read, or even that they had memorized the form of absolution so imperfectly that they did not know the difference between that form and the one which excommunicated.

Enough on this point of the ignorance of the Priests "whose lips should keep knowledge." It would be tedious to enter into further details, nor is it necessary to do so, as the history of that Church is sufficiently eloquent as to the animus of Roman Bishops and dignitaries against proving all things by searching the Scriptures. Enough surely has been said to show that the Roman Church has not valued very highly the first power of the true Christian *sacerdotium*, the power of teaching and preaching.

As to whether the Church of England has valued that first power of the Christian Priesthood, let the history of Oxford and Cambridge, and the long list of teachers of

* Janus, p. 322.

theology sent forth by that Church in the Reformation period, be a witness. Rome herself bore witness to the learning of the clergy of England, when she declared it was the wonder of the world, "stupor mundi." From the very moment that the dead hand of Rome was lifted off the English Church, so that she could go about her work free once more, there was no cessation of "teaching and preaching" among her clergy and children. We have seen the witness which such an apparently small matter as the mode of keeping Episcopal registers bore to the immediate betterment in the intellectual standing of the clergy at the very outset of the Reformation. As to the preachers and teachers of the Church of England since the Reformation, that Church has no reason to blush for her children when compared not only with those produced in the Diocese of Rome, but with those who have championed the religion of Christ, to whatever nation they belonged. Passing over the names of the actual reformers, though Rome could produce no contemporary scholar greater than Cranmer, mention may be made of Parker, Jewel, Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, Bacon, Hobbes, Pearson, Berkeley, Butler, Paley, John Lightfoot, Bingham, Waterland, Wall, Field, Milman, Robertson, Christopher Wordsworth, Joseph Lightfoot. Any resident in England, the Colonies, or the United States will testify that not only are the faithful laity of the Anglican Church better versed in the Scriptures and cognate learning than the faithful laity of the Roman obedience, in whatever countries they may be, but that the Anglican clergy are also man for man of a higher intellectual standard, and more widely read in all matters pertaining to Christian

literature than the Roman clergy, whether they be in those countries or even in Rome or Italy, where the immediate influence of the truer Christian Priesthood, claimed by Rome, ought to show its most visible fruits. The usual explanation given by the secular press in the United States to account for the great influence that Anglican Churchmen exercise, so out of proportion to their numerical strength, is that of superior learning and culture. From these considerations, it may be asserted with truth that Anglicans have paid a higher regard to the first power of the Christian Priesthood, as instituted by Christ, than Rome has ever done, whether regard be paid to the actual "preaching and teaching" of the clergy, or to the fruits of such *sacerdotium* by the works and labours of the laity.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD OR TRUE SACERDOTIUM.

III. ITS POWER OF EVANGELIZING.

IN THE WHOLE CHURCH, THE POPE IS THE
REAL PRIEST.—*Benedict XIV.**
I AM TRADITION.—*Pius IX.*†

E VANGELIZING the world is the second power of the Christian Priesthood. Has it been better observed by the Bishops of Rome than the first power? Let us see. It would be impossible that it could be so—since how can the Gospel be preached by those ignorant of it? Still Rome has claimed that she has been a great missionary Church. It will be well to pause for a moment and examine that claim. Of Ulphilas, the Apostle to the Goths, Millman justly says: “The first Teutonic Christians received

* Quoted Janus, p. 343.

† Quoted Quirinus, p. 713.

the gift of the Bible, in their own language, from the Apostle of their race."* St. Chrysostom, the founder of a training school for missionaries and the constant friend and upholder of those pioneers of the faith, belongs, as all the world knows, to the great Church of Constantinople. The missionaries that went forth from the Isle of Lerins went forth from a Gallic and not from a Roman foundation. Hilary the great Apostle and Saint, and perhaps the greatest missionary sent forth from the Isle of Lerins, withstood Rome face to face, and died excommunicated by that Church. St. Patrick the Apostle of Ireland and diligent student of the Scriptures, was neither Roman by birth, training or sympathy. The same may be said of St. Columba the Apostle of the Scots, Columbanus the Apostle of the Burgundians, St. Gallus the Apostle of North Switzerland, Kilian the Apostle of Thuringia, Virgilius the Apostle of Carinthia, and many others who went forth from the Northern Isles to evangelize the nations which lay nearer to Rome than they did to Ireland. Gregory the Great, of Rome, had missionary zeal, and sent Augustine to Britain. It was, however, Anglo-Saxon missionaries, Wilfrith, Willebroed, Swithbert, Boniface, and others who evangelized the countries of the Northern Teutons. These are a few of the great names of those who went forth, or sent forth others to evangelize the heathen. Of these names, one only is that of a Bishop of Rome, but it is that of Gregory the Great, one of the four learned Bishops that have occupied the See of Rome during its course of eighteen centuries. To Rome belongs further the credit of sending missionaries

Vol. I., p. 376.

to the new world, but not more learned, more saintly, or more devoted men than the Church of England has sent out, nor must it be forgotten that few of the missionaries Rome then sent out were really her own spiritual sons, that is, Italians, for the major part consisted of her adopted sons from other lands, men who had not forgotten entirely the glories of their once independent Churches.

There have been six great swarms of missionaries issuing as from a bee hive. They may be termed the Eastern from the Greek Church, the Gallic from the Islet of St. Lerins, the Celtic from the Isles of the North, the Anglo-Saxon from the Island of Britain, the Roman from the counter Reformation period, the Anglican from the Reformed Church of England.

From this rapid survey of the missionary efforts of the Church Catholic, it cannot with justice be said that the Church of Rome, if viewed as a local Church, has shown any special missionary zeal, while if she be viewed as a wider organization, embracing all the communities who recognize her supremacy, she cannot be said to have shown any greater zeal than the Church of England.

It must also be remembered that the power of missionary evangelization is taken away from the Roman Bishops, and is lodged with the Pope, who is the true Bishop and true Priest. Consequently freedom of evangelization is checked, and unless "Cephas" be preached there is no mission given.

Voluntary associations may lack some advantages by not being under official authority, yet they are by their very voluntariness the better witness to the fruits of the Church's teaching, since they put into practice the precepts of their

spiritual pastors. For that reason the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and others of like nature unsubsidized either by the State or the Church, or by enforced contributions from the laity, are witness to the vitality of the first power of the Christian Priesthood existing in the Church of England.

One of these Societies alone, the British and Foreign Bible Society, issued, in 1896, 3,970,439 Bibles and Testaments and portions of Scripture. The Oxford Press, in 1895, sold over one million of the "Oxford Bibles," and now issues an average output of that Bible of over twenty thousand a week. At that same Oxford Press the Bible is printed in three hundred and twenty-five different languages.

Anglicans may, therefore, with all firmness, maintain that they, no less than Romans, have shown forth the second power or duty of the true Christian Priesthood or *sacerdotium*, that of planting missions or evangelizing the world.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD OR TRUE SACERDOTIUM.

IV. ITS POWER OF BAPTIZING.

IT IS THIS KEY OF THE SACRAMENTS THAT
OPENS THE GATE OF THE KINGDOM OF
HEAVEN.—*Gaudentius*.*

BAPTIZING is the third power of the Christian *sacerdotium*. Apart from the *sacerdotal* character of baptism as regards its being a Sacrament of the remission of sins, it may be well here to point out that though baptism may be conceded as valid if administered by a Christian man other than a Bishop or Priest, yet that is not an admission of the perfection of such a baptism. Of the baptism when conferred by a Bishop or Priest, the Fathers speak in language which to our modern ears would sound as exaggeration. St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Ambrose, St.

* Quoted by Bingham, p. 1087.

Chrysostom, St. Augustine, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Basil, with many others, speak in the highest terms of the express *sacerdotal* character of Holy Baptism. It was looked upon as an oblation and a sacrifice; as impressing the royal character, or character of our Lord, on the soul for ever. The same terms as were applied to the Holy Eucharist were applied to it. The gift, the viaticum, the consecration, the sacred symbols. The Fathers say of infants who have been baptized that they partake by their baptism of the Body and Blood of Christ, they feed upon Christ; that they are to be reckoned among the *fideles* or faithful. By baptism we are united to Christ, made of the same flesh with Him, become the temple of the Holy Ghost and of Christ. A single quotation must here suffice.

"No one ought to entertain any the least doubt, but that every one of the faithful is then made a *partaker* of the Lord's *Body* and *Blood*, when he is made a *member* of Christ's *Body* in *baptism*. Neither can he be thought *no sharer* in the bread and cup, though he should depart this life before he eats of that bread or drinks of that cup; provided only that he retains his *union* with Christ's *Body*, for he is not without a *partnership* in that *Sacrament*, or without the *benefit* of it, so long as he is himself that *very thing* which the *Sacrament* imports."*

According to St. Augustine and others, baptism was looked upon in the case of infants as the equivalent of both the Gospel Sacraments. St. Basil and the Greek Fathers are strong in their expressions concerning the dignity of baptism, and the command of our Lord to baptize all na-

* Fulgentius, quoted by Waterland, Vol. IX., p. 498.

tions in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is one of their most frequent arguments in favour of the honour that should be paid to the Holy Ghost as the Third Person of the Ever Blessed Trinity. Without entering further into the question of baptism by laymen, or lay-women, it may be affirmed, without contradiction, that the desire of the primitive Church was that baptism should be conferred by Bishops only, that Priests might baptize if they had the authority given to them by the Bishops ; that baptism by Deacons and laymen could be given only in the case of grave necessity, and was accounted valid, though irregular ; that laywomen could under no circumstances baptize. The above may be said to be the mind of the primitive Church as to the minister of baptism.

As to the mode of administering Holy Baptism, it is conceded that the primitive Church favoured trine Immersion, though trine Affusion or Perfusion often accompanied Immersion. Trine Affusion, or pouring water on the candidate's head while he was standing in water, was also an accepted mode of administering the Sacrament. Aspersion was resorted to only in clinic baptism, when the approach of death was feared.

As to the matter and form. Water, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

How has Rome guarded this third power of the true Christian *sacerdotium*?

It will be admitted by all that Rome has not been a jealous guardian of the integrity of this Sacrament of the Gospel. As to the minister, she has departed far from the scriptural and primitive order. She permits any human being to

baptize, and in fact by printing in the forefront of her official* catechisms the directions to laymen and laywomen how to baptize, she really invites them to administer that sacrament, and declares that "any person of either sex who has reached the use of reason can baptize in case of necessity"; thus sanctioning every possible kind of lay baptism by man, woman or child, Christian, heretic, heathen, infidel, etc., without any limitations. Any one acquainted with hospital practice, or with the custom of Roman midwives, knows well enough that children born of non-Roman Catholic parents are baptized without hesitation by the midwives. It is true that the rubric in the Pontifical does not give any permission to lay persons to baptize, but its stringent terms are a survival of the ancient privilege of Bishops alone baptizing, contradicted as it is by universal custom, which in this case is not "*the best interpreter of law*," as Leo claims. The rubric reads:

"When at the extreme point of death, or for other urgent necessity, an infant has been baptized, the sacred prayers and ceremonies being omitted, when it convalesces or the danger ceases, it is to be brought to the Church, that all things omitted may be supplemented, then the Bishop," in a violet cope and mitre, with pastoral staff, is to supply the omissions.

According to the Pontifical, the power of baptizing belongs only to a Deacon, Priest or Bishop, and it is instructive to note that in the enumeration of the powers of a Bishop, the Pontifical explicitly states baptizing. "It be-

* Catechism of Christian Doctrine, enjoined by the third Plenary Council of Baltimore, p. 4.

longs to a Bishop to judge, to interpret, to consecrate, to ordain, to baptize, and to confirm." In this, as in many other respects, the Roman Ordinal contains unheeded reminders of the ancient primitive practice of the Church.

As to the mode of baptism, Rome, in her service, allows of trine Immersion or Affusion, without expressing a preference for either mode. In practice she neglects Immersion. As to the "matter" and "form," Rome adheres still to water and the scriptural form, but she has superadded a number of ceremonies which derogate from the scriptural and Christian dignity of the rite. By the addition of salt and oil as "matter," she confuses simple folk, who believe that the "matter" of water is not sufficient for the Sacrament. As to the "form," it is worthy of note that Hunter in his "Dogmatic Theology" maintains that to baptize "in the Name of Christ is still valid, though unlawful."* By her services for supplying the omissions over persons baptized at the point of death, and thus administering the salt, and unction, she magnifies unduly the non-essential "matter and form" of the sacrament, and thereby lowers the real essentials. The answer which Roman apologists make to all these innovations in the Sacrament of Holy Baptism is the dangerous one that if Roman innovations are not right, then the Church of God must long since have perished, which is absurd. This is a convenient argument, and may be used in defence of any departure from primitive truth and Apostolic fellowship. But it is the one of which Hunter constantly makes use when he is forced to admit that Rome has innovated. It is by this argument that he defends the practice of

* Vol. III., p. 218.

Sprinkling, saying that since it is in universal use by the Romans it must be valid, or else "the Church must long ago have perished, which would be against the promises of Christ." He admits that Immersion "continued in common use as late as the fourteenth century."*

How do Anglicans stand in regard to guarding the dignity of this third power of the Christian *sacerdotium*?

As to the minister, she declares that she has given inherent power to baptize only to her Bishops and Priests.

The charge in the Elizabethan Ordinal to the Deacon reads, "to instruct the youth in the Catechism, to baptize and to preach, if he be admitted thereto by the Bishop."

This permission was in the 1662 revision still further limited; he could only be permitted to baptize in the absence of the Priest, and even then only infants, and not adults.

"To instruct the youth in the Catechism; in the absence of the Priest to baptize infants, and to preach, if he be admitted thereto by the Bishop."

And so the office of a Deacon is still defined in the Church of England.

In the Ordinal of the American Church there is a semi-colon after the word "infants" instead of a comma, as above. The American charge therefore grants power to a Deacon, in the absence of the Priest, to baptize infants without even the authority of the Bishop.

There has also been another down grade tendency in the American Church in regard to the minister of baptism, for while the English rubric directs the "*Priest*" to baptize the child in the service of Publick Baptism, the American ru-

Vol. III., p. 215.

bric in that place directs the "*Minister*" to do so, and even in the case of those of riper years. In the prefatory rubric for the Private Baptism of Children, both Churches declare that the minister of baptism is to be "*the minister of the parish, or, in his absence, any other lawful minister,*" thus showing plainly that in their estimation there are some persons who are not lawful ministers of baptism.

While many maintain that the Church of England has forbidden lay baptism, it may be admitted that at any rate she has not only never officially sanctioned it, but has declined doing so when so requested. And the Convocation of Canterbury in 1712, instead of passing a resolution affirming the validity of lay baptism, placed on record its opinion that "the validity of such baptism was a point upon which the Catholic Church, and the Church of England in particular, hath hitherto avoided to determine by any synodical action." As to the mode, the rubrics decidedly give the preference to Dipping or Immersion. As to the "form and matter," it is entirely and solely scriptural—water in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Before quitting this subject of Baptism, it may be well to speak somewhat about Confirmation. The more so that it may be urged with justice that the ancient fathers when magnifying and extolling the excellent dignity of that great Sacrament did understand it oftentimes to include confirmation. Leo XIII. tells us that Imposition of hands is the "matter" for Confirmation as well as for ordination. It is no little singular that the same confusion as to what constitutes the Roman "matter" in ordination should extend

to that in Confirmation. If Imposition of hands be the true matter in Confirmation, then the Roman Church has lacked Confirmation for centuries. Her Bishops have administered that sacramental rite without any Imposition of hands, being authorized to do so by the rubrics of their Pontificals, who merely directed them to extend their hands over the candidates. Latterly, as with ordination so with Confirmation, the Romans have become impressed with the fact that the proper "matter" is Imposition of hands, so they are quietly introducing the practice in Confirmation, especially where they are under the shadow of the great Anglican Church. We congratulate them on their return to scriptural and Apostolic precedent. But since Leo rules, in this Bull, which his official apologist informs us is not only an "act of the supreme authority of the Church, but also an act of the Church to be enforced for ever, affirmed and irrevocable,"* that the "matter" in confirmation is Imposition of hands, then it must follow that not only all Confirmations without that "matter" were, and are, invalid, but inasmuch as the clergy must be confirmed before they can be ordained, then non-confirmed candidates are not subjects for Holy Orders; and if they are ordained doubts immediately arise as to the validity of such ordinations. Not only then were the Bishops guilty of sacrilege in administering Confirmation without its proper matter, but they have been guilty of the same sin in ordaining unconfirmed persons, and such persons have incurred the guilt of sacrilege also by presuming to minister at the Altar. As no doubt such unconfirmed Priests have been elevated to the Episcopate, then uncon-

* Brandi in *Civiltà Cattolica*, p. 77.

firmed Bishops have presumed to ordain and confirm. And thus all are involved in an ever tightening mesh of sacrilege. All this, not as a reasoning from Anglican, Eastern, or primitive law, but from Roman practice and law. Nor is there any reason to believe that there is any certainty, but rather the contrary, that Leo XIII. has himself been confirmed with the "matter" which he has irreversibly affirmed as essential. So serious indeed has the departure been from the scriptural method in the Roman Church that it has been a matter of considerable discussion in the Church in America as to whether converts from Rome ought not to be reconfirmed. On this point we will pass no judgment. Hunter airily dismisses consideration of the unscriptural character of the Roman rite in the following amusing manner:

"The practice of the Roman Church assures us that the rite here described is valid and licit, but there is much controversy concerning each of the particulars, especially on the question how far they are of Divine institution, or merely ordered by the Church. The matter is not of sufficient interest to justify our lingering on it."*

Waterland's commentary on Roman writers is most apt to this occasion. "The Romanists talk of antiquity, while we observe and follow it."†

The Anglican rite has the great merit that it brings forward in a most striking manner both the *summum sacerdotium* of the Bishop, the *sacerdotium* of the Priest, and the *sacerdotium* of the laity. The former part of the service is

* Vol. III., p. 232.

† Vol. V., p. 318.

in harmony with the ancient canons of the Council of Carthage, which declare that a profession of faith, and an examination into a candidate's right belief, should be made whenever he is presented to a Bishop. This part answers to the vows of the Priestly ordination. It is the solemn assumption on the part of the candidate of his lay Priesthood and royal inheritance. The Priest offers or presents the candidates as his oblations to the Bishop, who, acting in Christ's stead, ratifies and confirms the self-offering of the candidates and the holy offering of the Priest. Accordingly, by the Imposition of hands the Bishop conveys unto the candidates the gift of the Holy Ghost, and thus does the sacrifice become consummated and consecrated, and accepted by the illapse of the Holy Spirit. By the complete restriction of Confirmation to Bishops, the Anglican Church has wisely returned to the primitive practice, that a Bishop was necessary for the completion or full sufficiency of Baptism.

The mind of the Anglican Church may then be stated to be that the minister of baptism ought to be always a Bishop or a Priest for adults, and preferably so for infants, though in that case in necessity the Deacon may baptize. That the mode may be either Immersion or Affusion, but preferably the former, and that Sprinkling is not recognized, and that the form and matter must be the scriptural form and matter. Such is the mind of the Anglican Church, and she is thus officially in harmony with Scripture and primitive antiquity. On the other hand, it must be confessed that in practice she has departed from both, as to the minister and the mode. Her clergy do not invariably ask of persons

whom they prepare for Confirmation what Baptism they have received, and if the answer is given showing that it was not Baptism in Church according to the authorized service, rarely, if ever, do they proceed with the questions plainly desired by the rubric, preceding the certification which the Parish Priest is enjoined to give to the congregation of persons so baptized At what time? At what place? By whom? In whose presence? With what matter? With what words? Though the Church is strict enough in her demands, yet the practice is lax, and lay baptism of all kinds is admitted without further question. The Anglican clergy are also lax in the matter of mode. They rarely, if ever, require a certificate from the godfathers and godmothers as to the children being too weak to be immersed. The common practice is to baptize by Affusion without any question or hesitation. Anglicans do not put forth for these innovations any such absurd plea as the Romans, that their customs must be right because they cannot be wrong. They endeavour to justify their departure in practice from their Prayer Book and from antiquity by the argument that if the early Church allowed Affusion in certain cases, then since Immersion is inconvenient for many reasons, Affusion must be considered as valid and sufficient now, and that what formerly was the exception has become by force of circumstances the rule. As to the minister, the admission of lay baptism of all kinds proceeds rather from the belief of most of the clergy that lay baptism has been sanctioned by the Church Universal. To these arguments it may be replied that a careful study of the question of lay baptism will reveal, to say the least, consider-

able doubt as to the Church Universal having ever sanctioned it.

The early and mediæval Eastern Church cannot be cited in its favour, and at the present day the Copto-Jacobites, Syro-Jacobites, Nestorians, Armenians and others regard the Priest as the only minister of baptism. Even the present Roman Pontifical seems to hint at baptism by heretics and infidels as not being *true* baptism, for in the Interrogative Creed put to the Bishop-elect occurs this question: "Dost thou believe the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church to be the one true Church in which is given one true baptism and true remission of all sins?" To this day the Church of Milan follows the rule of antiquity, and the Bishop himself administers baptism on the eves of Easter and Pentecost.

And in regard to the mode, that if in the most uncongenial and rigorous climate of the world, Trine Immersion is practised universally, such a custom is certainly possible in the milder climate under which the Anglican Church holds sway. Undoubtedly, whenever discussions shall arise as to the differences which separate us from the Eastern Church, the way would be made much easier, for a better understanding, if the Anglican communion could affirm positively that her clergy were living up to a minute observance of the rubrics and official teaching of their Church.

If we must admit that Anglicans in regard to the third power of the true Christian *sacerdotium* have departed from the scriptural and primitive practice to some extent, though not as widely or as wilfully as Rome has, there can be no accusation against them from her, as such errors are an inheritance from the sad days of the Roman usurpation.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD OR TRUE SACERDOTIUM.

V. ITS POWER OF BINDING AND LOOSING.

WE COMMIT THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM
OF HEAVEN ONLY UNTO THE PRIEST AND
TO NONE OTHER: AND TO HIM ONLY WE
SAY, " WHATSOEVER THOU BINDEST IN
EARTH, SHALL BE BOUND IN HEAVEN."—
*Jewel.**

WHAT REGARD has Rome paid to the fourth power of the Christian Priesthood, as instituted by Christ—the power of binding and loosing?—that power which we are especially told was given by our Blessed Lord with His wondrous and potential insufflation.

He breathed on them and saith unto them, “ Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are re-

* Vol. IV., p. 494.

mitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained.”*

Here we have a power which was given with more solemnity than any other power given to the Apostles. Unlike the power of “Do this in remembrance of me,” it is bestowed upon the Apostles as an actual gift or possession *in præsenti*. It is marked out in a most singular manner from all the other powers, and may be said to be signalized as the one power needing, in a more special manner than any other power of the Christian *sacerdotium*, the presence of the Holy Ghost. Has Rome been a faithful steward of this most excellent mystery?

Our examination of the Roman Ordinal has shown us that logically the last Imposition of hands accompanying the gift of Absolution and Remission of Sins is the only form and matter which can be accepted as conferring a true ordination on the candidate for Priesthood. Roman writers, however, talk very slightly of this last Imposition, and Hunter, as we have seen, considers it on a par with the *traditio instrumentorum*, a ceremony which he has admitted to be modern and non-essential.

This fourth power of the true Christian *sacerdotium* may be viewed as exercised ministerially in : 1°. Baptism; 2°. The Holy Eucharist; 3°. Word and Doctrine; 4°. Prayer of the Priest; 5°. Absolution on Open Confession; 6°. Remission of Ecclesiastical Censures.

1°. *By Baptism.*

Remission of sins by Baptism may be said to be the Great Remission. It flows from the virtue of that great Sacra-

* St. John xx. 22, 23.

ment. A low estimate of Baptism is always conjoined with a low estimate of the Remission of Sins conveyed by that Sacrament. And the converse may be said to be equally true. The primitive Church attached the utmost importance to this Great Remission, so great indeed that a heresy sprung from it, the heresy of postponing Baptism so that the candidate might benefit by the Absolution thus conveyed to the fullest extent.

Baptism is not only the grant of Absolution, but is in itself the exercise of this power of the *sacerdotium*, for it is a binding or a loosing of the gates of the Kingdom of Heaven. By it does the minister of Baptism exercise to a supreme degree the power of the keys. By baptism alone can man enter the Church of God, that kingdom on earth. And as we have seen at every Baptism the minister acts as a *Sacerdos* and true offerer of sacrifice, since he presents to the Creator as a willing and lively sacrifice the creature seeking the adoption of sonship, and by his act of Immersion or Affusion seals his reception by God as an accepted offering. The great controversy on lay baptism, as it is called, rested not so much on the power of the minister using the divinely ordained form and matter of the Sacrament, as on the fact that with that form and matter, when used by the lawful minister, went the Great Remission, and therefore a supreme act of the true Christian Priesthood.

The whole question at issue has long since been summed up in the terse words of St. Cyprian :

“ Seeing that Remission of Sins is granted to every man in Baptism, the Lord in His Gospel declares and proves that sins can only be remitted by them who have the Holy

Spirit. For after His Resurrection, when He sent forth His disciples, He said unto them, 'As My Father sent me, so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, saying, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.' In which place He shows that they only can baptize, and grant Remission of Sins, who have the Holy Ghost."*

It was on the ground that heretics could not remit sins, since they did not belong to the Church, that the ancient doctors decided against such baptism.

So strongly did St. Augustine view the effect of the Remission of Sins in baptism that he made all future Remission of Sins to look back to, and be grounded upon, this one Great Remission. Of the sacerdotal Absolution in baptism other ancient doctors of the Church speak as strongly as St. Augustine. Firmilian, Cyril of Alexandria, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom alike assert the power of remitting sins in baptism as belonging to the ministers of Christ. St. Chrysostom indeed, as Bingham remarks, "magnifies the sacerdotal office upon a double account, because the Priests have power to remit sins, both when they regenerate us and afterwards."† A further quotation from St. Cyprian will be sufficient to prove the point advanced, the sacerdotal nature of the Remission of Sins in baptism. "It is manifest, both where and by whom that Remission of Sins is granted which is granted in baptism. For the Lord first gave that power to Peter, that whatsoever he loosed on

* Quoted by Bingham, p. 1086.

† Page 1087.

earth should be loosed in Heaven. And after His Resurrection He said to His disciples: ‘Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained’; whence we understand that no other have power to baptize, and grant remission of sins, but they who are made rulers in the Church of the evangelical law and ordinance of the Lord.”*

That the Anglican Church does accept this primitive doctrine is shown by the words of the prayer in her service for the Public Baptism of Infants, “We call upon Thee, for this infant, that he, coming to Thy Holy Baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration,” and again, in the prayer for the hallowing of the water, “Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin.” It is to be noted that while the rubrics leave it to a minister to say certain other parts of the service, it pointedly directs that *the Priest* shall say the prayers from which we have made the above quotations. The service for Baptism of Such as Are of Riper Years has corresponding prayers. Nor are the baptized allowed to forget this Great Remission of sins when they present themselves to be confirmed, as witness the prayer, “Almighty and everlasting God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these Thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast granted unto them forgiveness of all their sins.”

The sacerdotal Great Remission of sins in Holy Baptism, is certainly taught and practised in the Anglican Church. Let us pass on to the power of binding and loosing as conveyed in

* Quoted by Bingham, p. 1087.

2º. The Holy Eucharist.

By the partaking of the Holy Communion (not the mere being present at the service) the primitive Church taught that there was granted an absolution to the communicant. Thus, St. Cyprian:

"When we drink the Blood of the Lord, and the cup of salvation, we put off the remembrance of the old man and forget our former secular conversation, and our sorrowful and heavy heart, which before was pressed with the anguish of our sins, is now absolved or set at liberty by the joyfulness of the divine indulgence or pardon."*

Penitents were reconciled and restored to the Church by the administration of the Blessed Body and Blood of our Saviour, either in open Church or when sick at their houses. The ancient use of the term "Viaticum" does certainly show that the provision for the dread journey of the soul was not considered to lie so much in the partaking of the Holy Communion as in the fruits which came from such reception, the absolution of the dying person and his consequent reconciliation with God. The constant use of the term "propitiatory," applied to the Holy Eucharist by the early Fathers, also points in the same direction; that the Communion did convey a remission of sins. The ancient Liturgies all contain prayers that the communicants may receive remission of their sins, and thanksgiving in the Post-Communion, that their sins have been remitted and that they have been reconciled to God. This doctrine of Eucharistical remission of sins needs no further proof from antiquity. That it is scriptural is manifest from the words of

* Quoted by Bingham, p. 1087.

Institution, “Drink ye all of this; for this is My Blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins.” *

The denial of the Cup to the laity cuts at the root of this scriptural and primitive doctrine, and therefore Rome cannot be said to value the *sacerdotium* of the Christian Priesthood very highly in regard to its power of Eucharistical remission of sins. Not only by the restoration of the Cup has the Anglican Church brought forward into its due prominence the doctrine of Eucharistical remission of sins by the partaking of the Holy Communion, but the petitions in her Liturgy bear witness to her sound teaching in that respect. We omit all reference to such part of the service as precedes the Prayer of Humble Access, since the Absolution which precedes the Comfortable Words is a definite declaratory act on the part of the Priest. The petition in the Prayer of Humble Access, which is said in the name of all those that shall receive the Communion, asks God that He will grant us “so to eat the Flesh of Thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, and to drink His Blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood.” The words of administration contain the reference to our Lord’s own words of Institution, “Drink this in remembrance that Christ’s Blood was shed for thee.” The Lord’s Prayer is said immediately after the Communion, just as it was said after a plenary remission of sins. The thanksgivings look back to this remission of sins.

“Thus Bramhall defended the omission of the particular

* St. Matt. xxvi. 27.

mention of the power of consecrating the Eucharist in the form used at the Imposition of hands. ‘The whole power of the Order is included in the words, Whose sins thou dost remit, they are remitted unto them, etc. For this is done not only by Priestly Absolution, but by preaching, baptizing and administering the Holy Eucharist, which is a means to apply the all-sufficient Sacrifice of Christ for the remission of sins.’ Thus he argued that the consecration of the mysteries was recognized, not as the end, but as a means tending to the accomplishment of the end, the reconciliation of sinners to God.” *

The position of the thanksgiving in the American Liturgy, before the reception of the Communion, brings out this remission of sins as attendant upon and consequent from the reception, still more vividly, “Most humbly beseeching Thee to grant that by the merits and death of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, and through faith in His blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins.”

So far as to the loosing or remitting of sins in the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. In her exhortations and rubrics to the Liturgy, the Church does distinctly warn her children against incurring her decree of “binding” or of barring from access to the Holy Table.

Agreeably therefore to the words of her Great High Priest, of the Holy Scriptures, of the primitive Church and ancient Doctors, the Anglican Communion does honour and set forth the dignity and office of the true Christian *sacerdotium* in regard to its power of binding and loosing in the

* Churton, *Defence of the Ordinal*, p. 81.

administration of the Holy Eucharist, and that to a higher degree than Rome does or has done for centuries.

3°. By Word and Doctrine.

To the Word of God and to the preaching of the Gospel, there has ever been attached a power of reconciling penitents to their Saviour. In other words, a power of binding and of loosing. That a remission of sins accompanied the preaching of the Gospel by our Lord is too manifest to be dwelt on. Not only did the Saviour declare that He was the living Bread, or that he who ate His Flesh and drank His Blood had eternal life, but that the words that He spoke were life. Throughout the whole of that ministry during which He preached the glad tidings of reconciliation of fallen man to God, His words bound and loosed men from the chains of their sins. St. Paul boldly proclaims to the Romans * that he is "not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." To the Corinthians he likewise declares "that all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation; to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them, and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation."† This reconcilement to God by the Word preached by the Ambassadors of Christ may be said to be brought about in such cases as when the Word quickens the faith of the sinner, or when it converts him from heathenism or unbelief to Christ.‡ The Word

* Romans i. 16.

† II. Cor. v. 19.

‡ See also Romans x. 13-17.

of God moving where it listeth quickens the soul with celestial life. The soul believes, and by that faith becomes reconciled to God. So Clement of Alexandria, "Our faith is the key of the Kingdom of Heaven," and St. Augustine, "They have their hearts shut because they lack the key of faith."* And St. Ambrose, "Sins be forgiven by the Word of God, the expounder whereof is the Priest."† God's Word is indeed so mighty in its operation, such a two-edged sword, dividing the very heart of man, that when the Holy Ghost deigns to minister directly by its aid the old man is put off, and all things become new to him that hath accepted Christ.

The Roman Church, by its concealment of the Word of God from the people, hath shut out the sinner from the message of the Word of God. Its concealment has been two-fold. It has buried the Scriptures, like the man with the one talent. It has forbidden access to them. It has the Word of God read in scanty portions to its people, and then in a language not understood by the people. It has refused to sow the seed of the Word of God, believing God to be a hard Master, hardening all hearts to stone, so that they might not receive the Word. It has refused the people the Holy Scriptures, lest they might believe and be converted. Rome certainly cannot claim that she has held in honour this power of binding and loosing, committed by Christ to that *sacerdotium* which He instituted

The Church of England has provided ample measure, well pressed and running over, of the Word of God for her

* Quoted by Jewel, Vol. IV., p. 498.

† Quoted by Jewel, Vol. IV., p. 508.

people. Her four daily lessons from Scripture, besides such portions of God's Word as are enshrined in her services, show this. The Anglican ministry know well how often the Holy Spirit has, out of the Holy Word of God, read in Church, spoken to the sinner, "Thou art the man!" The Anglican Priest knows how often laden souls have come to him to confess how God's Spirit has wrought with them, and prevailed by some silent message from Holy Writ, read in the secrecy of their closet at home. The Anglican preacher knows well how often he has been humbled to find that God has so charged his feeble and foolish utterances with the divine life that his empty word has become the Word of reconciliation.

Then there is binding and loosing, which comes from declaring the terms upon which pardon and absolution is granted under the Gospel dispensation. This remission of sins, to be of avail to the Christian, presupposes prayer to God on his part. Has the Anglican Church been loyal to her divine trust in this respect?

The "Dearly Beloved" contains in very express words the terms upon which God will grant remission of sins—"the humble, lowly, penitent and obedient heart." And so do the exhortations in the Communion Service where "the way and means" for the examination of conscience are given.

The power of binding and loosing by the Word and doctrine of the Son of God is certainly acknowledged by the Anglican *sacerdotium* as one of its Christ-given powers.

4°. By Prayer of the Priest.

That God will grant pardon and absolution to sinners in response to the prayers of Christians cannot be doubted by

any student of the Scriptures. Our Blessed Lord has set no limits to the power of prayer, and the Apostles have insisted with constant iteration on the power of intercessory prayer to save souls. The direct promise of our Lord to His Apostles, that whatsoever they should ask in His name would be granted them, cannot be said to have been meant for the Eleven only, but for their successors to the end of time. Sacerdotal Absolution as the result of the intercession of Christian Priests is repeatedly taught by the early Fathers. So St. Chrysostom: "the Priests" grant Absolution, "not only by their doctrine and admonition, but also by the assistance of their prayers."* St. Augustine says that the prayers of holy men in Church procure the remission of sins, and so taught St. Cyprian, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, and others.

The Church of Rome in her public ministrations recognizes this power of the *sacerdotium*, but owing to the dead language of her prayers, and also to the very meagre round of prayer which she has provided for her children, the power is but little recognized in practice.

The converse is the truth with regard to the Anglican Church, for in her unrivalled services she constantly brings this duty—to intercede for sinners—before all her children, lay and cleric. It has indeed been objected that the keynote of her services is of too penitential a character. Certainly the duty of intercession for the forgiveness of the sins of penitent souls is emphasized from the moment her people enter the house of God. The "Dearly Beloved" sets this intercession for the remission of sins as the first of Chris-

* Quoted by Bingham, p. 1089.

tian duties. There is not a single service of hers where this intercession is omitted, be it Matins, Evensong, Litany, Holy Communion, or Holy Baptism. Never is the Christian allowed to forget his own sinfulness, nor his duty to intercede for his fellow sinners. And in every ministration of the Priest, this power of his true Christian Priesthood to make intercession for his flock, and to obtain for them pardon and peace, is so constantly brought home to him that it has rather tended to make him forget his judicial authority.

5^o. Absolution on Open Confession.

Confession of sin is a command enjoined on and recognized by all Christians. The only matter of dispute is as to whom the confession shall be made? To God; to a fellow Christian; to a Priest? That confession is to be made to God all Christians agree. That confession is to be made to a fellow Christian is the doctrine of the Bible, and of antiquity, and practically that of all Christians. All admit that such confession is necessary as a mark of repentance, as a token of sincerity of purpose of amendment. The Exhortation in the Communion Service sternly insists upon this confession to the person we have wronged.

Confession to a Priest is not admitted as necessary by many Christians. While it may be said that such confession is not explicitly enjoined in Holy Writ, still it is indirectly enjoined by the commission given by our Blessed Lord to His Apostles. The power of remitting sins, if it is admitted to lie with the Christian Priest, must presuppose a confession on the part of the Christian penitent. The discipline of the ancient Church undoubtedly recognized both this confession and this power of Absolution. Even

the preaching and baptism of St. John led men to confess their sins. When therefore the Gospel was preached, and Holy Baptism administered we should expect to find a more searching confession of sins. The severe nature of the discipline of the primitive Church bears witness to this truth.

But confession to a Priest may be subdivided into two general classes : Open confession in the congregation in Church in the presence of the Priest ; secret confession in private to the Priest. Open confession in Church was the primitive custom, and was succeeded by a formal Absolution with Imposition of hands, given either by a Bishop or Priest, in presence of the other clergy. Secret confession to a Priest in private is generally admitted to have been the rare exception in primitive times.

As to the mode of Absolution, when it was connected with the open reconciliation and restoration of the penitent to the rights and privileges of the Church, it was accompanied by a formal Imposition of hands. The Imposition of hands was the outward sign of the reconciliation of the penitent to the Church. To this Imposition of hands chrism or unction was sometimes added. As to the words of Absolution, they were always of a precatory nature, such as "I pray Thee to absolve Thy servant." "O Lord and Master, hear my prayer for Thy servants ; . . . pardon their offences." The imperative form, "I absolve thee," cannot be traced back earlier than the twelfth century.

It must also be borne in mind that in the primitive Church, certainly for the first five hundred years, private confession was not followed by an Absolution. The confession, for various reasons, might be made to the Priest in private, but

the Absolution was given openly, formally, in Church, in the presence of the congregation and of the clergy, accompanied, oftentimes, by a further confession in open Church.

Venial sins were not made a matter of private confession at all. Such sins were atoned for by prayer and confession to God alone. The Absolution given in the early Church was often delayed for months, or even for a year after the confession had been made; delayed, in fact, until the next annual public reconciliation of sinners.

What is the teaching of Rome on this power of the true Christian *sacerdotium*?

She has, contrary to Scripture and the universal consent of primitive antiquity, erected a system of confession which is peculiarly her own. She enforces confession, and recommends its habitual use at stated periods, and insists that this confession shall be made in secret to a Priest. She further insists on this private confession before and as a condition of receiving the Sacrament of the Holy Communion. Two admissions by Hunter as to the innovation by Rome in this respect may here be noted. That the first Council enjoining confession, in the sense of private confession to a Priest, was the Council of Lateran of 1215, of which he says it "passed a decree enjoining that all the faithful should confess their sins at least once a year."* And in regard to the imperative form in Absolution: "The essential words of the form as now exclusively used in the Western Church, are an assertion: 'I absolve thee from thy sins.' The form in the East is a prayer. 'May God absolve thee,' and the same practice prevailed for many centuries in

* Vol. III., p. 330.

the West."* It is certainly very remarkable that in the most solemn Absolution that a Priest can bestow on a penitent—that on his death-bed—when, if ever, he needs the most authentic and positive remission of sins, ere he stands before his Maker, the Roman Church has not yet dared to depart from the ancient precatory form of Absolution. For such is her form in the service of Extreme Unction.

It may not be out of place to point out here that the Decree of Gratian, which is embodied in the present Canon Law of the Roman Church, declares that it is left optional to the penitent to choose public confession or private confession to a Priest. This is Gratian's declaration: "I have briefly shown on what authorities and grounds of reason each of these opinions of confession and satisfaction depends. But to which of these one ought to adhere is left to the judgment of the reader, for each of them is supported by wise and religious men."†

This Decree of Gratian was published in 1151, and thus we have in the middle of the twelfth century no such hard and fast line on the subject of auricular confession in the Roman Church as is now drawn by her.

The Anglican Church has set on record her desire that some of the public primitive discipline of the Church should be restored. She has thus commended it to her children.

* Hunter, Vol. III., p. 350.

† *Quibus auctoribus, vel quibus rationum firmamentis utraque sententia confessionis et satisfactionis nitatur in medium breviter posuimus. Cui autem harum adhærendum sit, lectoris judicio; utraque fautores sapientes et religiosos viros habet. Decreti secunda pars causa xxxiii., quest. iii., ch. 88 and 89 (Corpus juris canonici ed A. Friedberg, Leipzig, 1879, Vol. I., p. 1189).*

She insists, as we have seen, upon an open confession of sins whenever her children meet, and this confession is not of venial sins only, as was the case with the confession in the old Monastic Offices. The confession in the Holy Communion service is most undoubtedly intended to be said by the communicant after he has solemnly and scrupulously examined his conscience as set forth in the exhortation, and "whereinsoever ye shall perceive yourselves to have offended, either by will, word, or deed, there to bewail your own sinfulness and to confess yourselves to Almighty God." The Absolution is as comprehensive as the examination is intended to be. It is "pardon and deliver you from all your sins," thus absolving all sins confessed, venial or mortal.

If confession in private prayer will avail for the remission of sins, surely confession in public prayer, followed by a Declaratory Absolution, will avail none the less.

St. Chrysostom has declared with regard to sins, that "If you remember them now, and continually offer them to God, and pray for them, you shall quickly blot them out," and again, exhorting sinners to repent, he says to them, as if in the words of Christ, "Confess thy sins in private to me alone, that I may heal thy wound and deliver thee from grief," and again the same Father says:

"Reveal thy way unto the Lord, confess thy sins before God, confess them before the Judge; praying, if not with thy tongue, yet at least with thy memory; and so look to obtain mercy."* And so agree other ancient Fathers of the primitive Church.

The sinner, therefore, who brings his sins before God

* Quoted by Bingham, p. 1066.

while he is saying the public confession cannot derive a less degree of remission, when the Declaratory Absolution of God's Priest falls on his troubled conscience, than if he had thus simply prayed in secret.

In her Eucharistic service, the Anglican Church provides a more solemnly worded, open confession, with an Absolution cast, in accordance with primitive custom, in a precatory form.

In the Visitation for the Sick, in obedience to the primitive custom, she provides for confession and Absolution.

In this form of Absolution it is true that she departs from antiquity and provides an imperative form, "I absolve thee"; but as this is one of the unfortunate inheritances from Roman dominion, it is not for Rome to blame her.

In regard to private confession, she has done her best to place it on the primitive model. She does not insist upon it. She leaves it voluntary—she does not make it compulsory. She discountenances an habitual or mechanical use of it at stated times. The sinner has to go to confession when he feels the need of it. He is to go to private confession not for ordinary sins, but only when the conscience is burdened. There she leaves the matter. As to the form of Absolution, that is left to the Priest. While some Priests take it from the modern imperative form, others, following the voice of antiquity, prefer to use a precatory form.

The mind of the American Church, in regard to the form that her Priests are to use in private Absolution, is sufficiently expressed in the rubric in the Service of Visitation of Prisoners, where she enjoins, even in the case of a prisoner

lying under sentence of death, the precatory form from the Holy Communion Service.

Some persons having, unfortunately, but a slim acquaintance with the Anglican Fathers, have asserted that private confession to a Priest was contrary to the mind of the Reformers, and that it has only been in recent years that Anglican divines have maintained its lawfulness. All great Anglican divines have pronounced against the Roman system, but that is a very different thing from pronouncing against confession. The evidence of Jewel is the best we can have as to the mind of the Reformers. In his Defence of the Apology of the Church of England, in answer to the Roman reply which it called forth, relative to his assertion in the Apology: "Moreover, we say that Christ hath given to His ministers power to bind, to loose, to open, to shut," he says in reply to Harding :

"The difference that is between us and our adversaries in this whole matter is not great: saving that it liketh well M. Harding to busy himself with needless quarrels without cause. Three kinds of confession are expressed unto us in the Scriptures. The first made secretly unto God alone: the second openly before the whole congregation: the third privately unto our brother. Of the two former kinds there is no question. Touching the third, if it be discreetly used, to the greater comfort and better satisfaction of the penitent, without superstition or other ill, it is not in any wise by us reprobated."*

Here the Anglican Church rests her case. She is content in so grave a matter to lay on her children no greater

* Vol. IV., p. 486.

burden than did Christ, the Apostles, or the primitive Church. Her Priests exercise the power of the keys whenever the penitent sinner comes to them, but she dares not to run contrary to Scripture and antiquity by declaring, as Rome did at Trent,* that secret confession and Absolution is necessary to salvation. She has too high a regard for the Heaven-given power of Absolution on confession to insist upon her children doing what neither Christ commanded nor what the Apostles who received that command enjoined on the Apostolic Church. With antiquity she standeth or falleth.

6°. By Remission of Ecclesiastical Censures.

That the Church has the right to impose spiritual censures will be denied by none. That she has the right to impose bodily censures, either directly or indirectly, is maintained only by Roman Catholics. Into this question it is needless for us to enter here. It will be sufficient to dismiss it with the remark that so long as Rome insists on the temporal power of her chief ruler, so long will it naturally follow that he, as King or Civil Sovereign, has power over the bodies of his subjects, and that he has the right to punish all rebels. Burning, branding, drowning, killing, torturing cannot belong to the *sacerdotium* of the true Christian Priesthood, however much it may lie in the province of the Sovereign of Rome. If the Church has power to inflict spiritual censures, such as debarring her children from the presence of the sacred mysteries, or from reception of the Holy Eucharist, or from holding office in her ministry, then she must have the power of remitting those

* Session XIV., Canons vi. and ix.

spiritual punishments, and it is those which we shall include under the term of Ecclesiastical Censure.

Our Lord and His Apostles have taught us that the Christian Church has power so to punish its members. The ancient Church had a very strict discipline in that respect, and a well regulated code of degrees of punishment. In this way she used the keys of binding and loosing in the Kingdom of Heaven. Pardons were not easy to obtain. An elaborate system of penitence was established. In early times no sinner was absolved from the sentence passed against him, unless he had fulfilled the conditions attached to that pardon, except only in case of imminent death. How has Rome preserved this treasure committed to her faithful keeping? Has she been patient, wise, loving, forbearing with offenders, resorting to official promulgation of her censures only in the very last resort? Has she been zealous to see that no cause of wounded pride, or vanity, or self-interest moved her Priests and Bishops in the exercise of this terrible power? Let the history of every nation in every clime where she has obtained a foothold answer this question.

In ancient times the power of curtailing part of the censure imposed upon the offender was always left in the hands of the Bishop. He might, as we say in civil matters, commute the sentence. He did this when he saw that the offender was truly penitent, when there were certain extenuating circumstances, or he did it on the intercession of persons about to suffer martyrdom, or of other holy persons. This commutation of the sentence was known by the name of an "indulgence."

Rome's theory of indulgences grew in proportion to and in correspondence with her temporal power. At the height of her power, she freely granted indulgences on the supposition that she held an inexhaustible pardoning power. These indulgences were granted, not by the Bishops of the dioceses, but by the Bishop of Rome, and over the heads of the Priests and Bishops who had passed the sentence against the offender. It is readily perceived that such remission of penalties was necessarily much sought after. It was a quick and ready way of reversing the judgment of the local court. When very large interests were at stake, it was necessary to make the appeal to the Court of Rome in person, but when the interests involved were not National, Royal, or Episcopal, but merely those of some obscure individual, the decision of the Supreme Court of Appeal, that is, the indulgence, could be obtained ready to hand from Papal agents all over the world. Just as Members of Parliament in England used to sell their "franking" privileges, so these indulgences could be bought on any roadside in Europe before the Reformation. The greater the personal extravagance of the Court of Rome, the more money was needed to build palaces, pension relatives, equip armies, man fleets, so much the more quickly and widely were these indulgences issued. It was in reality a paper currency, but a currency based not on gold or silver, or on the credit of the issuer, but on the faith of the recipient. Every sin, from the smallest to the most atrocious, had its price, and not only was indulgence granted for that sin, but indulgences from the penalties of future sins were also sold. Terrible as this degradation of the power of binding and

loosing was in its moral effect on the people, it did what Jewel so appositely points out—it made the pardon independent of the Priest. That is why he insists, as against Rome, that the power of binding and loosing could not be committed to a layman, but solely to a Priest. It may, however, be urged that the Reformation forced Rome to amend her ways, and that she no longer sells indulgences. She certainly no longer sells them in the same way as she did formerly, not because she does not still claim to possess an overflowing treasury of pardons, but because the demand has fallen off. She certainly was forced to some reformation in the matter. Accordingly the Council of Trent in its decree concerning indulgences declared that "the power of conferring indulgences was granted by Christ to the Church."* Inasmuch as the word "indulgence" throughout this decree is used as referring to the Roman custom of that name, this is a manifest falsehood. Such indulgences, the decree proceeds to say, are salutary, and are to be retained, but that evil gains derived from them are henceforth to be abolished, and the Bishops are to report upon abuses in their dioceses to the Supreme Pontiff.

It must not, however, be thought that Rome has in these modern days relinquished any of her former claims. The following extract from Hunter's "Outlines of Dogmatic Theology" gives her own teaching on the subject. After admitting that the Council of Trent has but scantly defined the faith as to indulgences, the writer proceeds:

"But the consentient teaching of theologians tells us with certainty something more as to their nature. Thus we

* Session XXV., p. 277.

know that the Church possesses what is called a treasury, in which are stored the satisfactory merits of the works of Christ and of His saints; and that the treasure can be distributed among the faithful by the Roman Pontiff and others who exercise authority under him. The treasure so distributed avails for the remission of temporal punishment due to sin, including both that which may be inflicted by the Church in exercise of her penitential discipline and that which is due to the Divine justice. Such a distribution is called an indulgence, and it may be applied by way of suffrage for the benefit of the holy souls in purgatory. We proceed to explain and justify this statement.

"It will not be questioned that the satisfactory value of the works of Christ was infinite, for the Person who wrought them was God, and He offered them for all the needs of men. His merits are constantly applied to the souls of men, and remain unexhausted. These merits then fill the treasury to overflowing, and if the satisfactions of the sinless Mother of God and of other innocent and penitent saints are admitted to have a place there, the reason is that they may not be wasted; not that they are needed. Some at least of the saints have gained satisfactory merit beyond their needs, and these would remain unused if they did not avail for other men." *

According to modern Roman teaching, therefore, indulgences are not remissions of ecclesiastical penalties, only, but remissions of temporal penalties inflicted by God on sin. If this were true, then God is robbed of His justice, and the man that sinneth—lo, he procureth him an indulgence

* Vol. III., p. 342.

and goeth rejoicing on his way, for the man that sinneth no longer dieth. If temporal penalties incurred by sin were removed by indulgences we should see the fruit of it in the lives of Romanists. They would be free from disease, illness, reverses of fortune and other temporal punishments for disobedience to God, which is sin. That Christ's merits are more than sufficient to redeem all mankind, every lover of his Bible will admit; and since Christ has paid the penalty for all, we fail to see how the surplus merits of sinful men and women can ever be drawn upon. They must, notwithstanding the above teaching, lie "wasted," and their merits remain unused, unless it is pleaded that these merits are drawn upon first, before those of Christ are touched upon; that is, assuming that they exist. Our Lord's statement and the Scripture doctrine is that no mortal can "gain satisfactory merit beyond [his] needs." It will be noted that St. Mary is now styled "sinless." First she was declared free from original sin, now she is declared "sinless," consequently her merits must also be inexhaustible. Can it be said, in view of this unchristian teaching, that Rome has jealously guarded the *sacerdotium* of the true Christian Priesthood in regard to its power of remitting ecclesiastical censures?

The doctrine of the Church of England is like that of the Bible and of the ancient Church, very simple. Excommunication and other ecclesiastical censures are pronounced by the Bishop or Parish Priest, and their remission is also confined to them. This binding and loosing is within the *sacerdotium*. But to the *summum sacerdotium*, to the Bishop, is given the right of reversal of the Priest's sentence, and of

commutation of it. There is not the faintest whisper of any power being given to Priest or Bishop to grant any remission of temporal penalties incurred by man's sin to God. Nor can her clergy deprive God of His power to give to whomsoever He pleaseth, in this world or the next.

Need it be asked who has shown the highest reverence and respect for the *sacerdotium* of the Christian Priesthood in this power of binding and loosing of ecclesiastical censures?

We have examined, as briefly as the importance of the subject warranted, the power of binding and loosing as entrusted by Christ to His Apostolic ministry, under the most awe-inspiring form, the breathing of the Lord Himself and His gift of the Holy Ghost. We have examined this power in its main divisions or aspects as regarded by the ancient Church. We have seen that the Roman Church has been under each aspect an unfaithful steward of that wondrous mystery of the *sacerdotium* of the true Christian Priest. We have seen that while the Anglican Church may have erred in some points, she has done so rather than break away too radically from the traditions of Western Christendom, and not from any intent of magnifying herself or her Episcopate. We have seen that she has endeavoured to keep the proportion of the faith as committed to her in this precious deposit of the Word of reconciliation. We have seen that throughout she has sought to govern her practice by the voice of antiquity and the rule of Holy Scripture. In all Christendom it may be boldly affirmed that no Church has been as jealous as the Church of England, and the Churches in com-

munion with her, in upholding the honour and dignity of the Christian Priesthood in relation to its gift of forgiveness and retention of sins. No Church has ever in her Service Books given such a prominence to the remission of sins as is given in the Book of Common Prayer. No Church in Christendom, modern or ancient, has so endeavoured to preserve the unity of the faith in that great gift, or done as much to set before her children all the different powers conveyed by that gift; the power of binding and loosing in Baptism, in the Holy Eucharist, by Word and Doctrine, by Prayer, by Absolution on Confession, by Remission of Ecclesiastical Censures. If her children have been neglectful of their responsibilities or of their privileges at any period of her history, it has been their fault, and not that of their Mother. Like all God's gifts, they have to be sought for, asked for. Her great divines have age after age pointed out the treasures waiting to be dispensed. If some of her sons have been backward in claiming this or that part of their heritage, it has been because the Christian confidence had been shaken to its foundation by Papal frauds. Confidence in spiritual matters, as well as in others, is a plant of slow growth. Men who had been drugged on Papal Absolutions, Indulgences, and Excommunications were apt to look with suspicion on all remedies, and to refuse even the sweet and wholesome medicine of the Great Physician of souls, as He tendered it by the hands of Priests who valued it too highly not to own that it was a bitter medicine, and not an opiate, or a sugar-coated medicament.

As we commenced the consideration of this power of binding and loosing of the Christian Priesthood as instituted

by Christ, with the words of the great Apologist of the Church of England, so we will close it by repeating the same stately pronouncement :

“We commit the keys of the kingdom of Heaven only unto the Priest, and to none other : and to him only we say, ‘Whatsoever thou bindest in earth shall be bound in Heaven.’ ”

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD OR TRUE SACERDOTIUM.

VI. ITS POWER OF CELEBRATING THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

THUS THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF CHRIST
USED THE HOLY COMMUNION AT THE BE-
GGINING.—*Jewel.**

C ELEBRATING the Holy Eucharist was one of the powers conveyed to the Apostles under the general power, “Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.” The command to do it was given on the night preceding the Crucifixion, but the power of doing was not given till afterwards. Before His Ascension the Lord breathed upon His Apostles, of the fulness of the Holy Spirit that dwelt within Him without measure or degree. “When on the day of Pentecost the Holy Spirit came down in the fuller and more peculiar manner that

* Vol. I., p. 25.

characterizes His Presence in the Church, the Church received the full gift which the Lord had partially bestowed upon her before; and in that Presence she retained His Presence also."* Henceforth Christ ruled His kingdom by the ministry of the Holy Ghost. First our Lord prophesied, then He made expiation for our sins, then He presented His expiation in Heaven, and then He began His intercession for us. It is immaterial to our present argument to make any definite statement as to the particular gracious operation of the Holy Spirit from which the power of celebrating the Holy Eucharist is derived, that conveyed before the Ascension or that conveyed on Whitsun-Day. It may with safety be said that if the power was granted by the insufflation of our Blessed Redeemer the exercise of it was not to take place till the Holy Ghost had descended, and thus in wondrous mystery announced the entrance of our great High Priest into the Holy of holies, not made with hands. Certainly it must be admitted that in the general instruction to do "whatsoever I have commanded you" there was included the command to "Do this in remembrance of Me." Even such Romanists as are anxious to maintain the view that the actual power of celebrating the Holy Eucharist was conveyed on the night preceding the Crucifixion are the most eager in asserting that our Blessed Lord gave to His Apostles during the great forty days minute instructions how to perform the ceremonial part of the ordinance. As a matter of fact, we have no distinct record of any observance of that Divine Memorial until after the descent of the Holy

* Moberly's Bampton Lectures, pp. 16 and 17, quoted in Denton's *Grace of the Ministry*, p. 59.

Ghost. As a matter of theology, it must, we think, be admitted that it is most reasonable to believe that Christ's re-entry into Heaven and His presentment of His Sacrifice to the Father must have preceded any celebration of the "Breaking of Bread" by His Apostles here on earth. As a matter of theory, it may therefore be safely said that it is most consonant to our Lord's teaching, to His position as High Priest, and to scriptural records, to believe that the indwelling Presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church, and His special Presence as Consecrator and Sanctifier with the Apostles in their ministerial acts, was an indispensable necessity. What, then, was the command which Christ gave to His Apostles on the eve of His crucifixion? The actual words were, as recorded by St. Luke:

*τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν,**

which is rendered in the Authorized Version as "This do in remembrance of Me," and in the Douai Version as "Do this for a commemoration of Me."

There is thus virtually no difference in the two renderings.

The Council of Trent uses both renderings indifferently, "in commemoration of Me," † or "for the commemoration of Me." ‡

There is then no disagreement on this point between Anglicans and Romans.

As to what our Lord referred to by the words, "Do this," that has long been a matter of controversy. Did our Lord

* xxii. 19.

† Waterworth's *Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 153.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

refer to the one action, when He broke the bread and gave it to the Apostles?

The sentence, as recorded by St. Luke, reads: "And He took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is My body which is given for you ; this do in remembrance of Me"; while in the account which St. Paul gives of the Institution, "This do in remembrance of Me" is said of both the bread and the cup.*

Does "this" refer to the breaking of bread, or to the breaking of the bread and the drinking of the cup as St. Paul records it, or to the giving of thanks, or to all three; or does it refer to the whole action of our Lord when He instituted this Sacrament?

The "breaking of bread" was an act which evidently must have much impressed the Apostles, since they gave that name to the whole service.

Whether the word "do" is a correct rendering of the Greek word, and whether it ought not to be rendered "offer" has been a moot question among scholars. But it may be granted that there is really no difference on this point either, between Anglicans and Romans. If it be said that "do" is the better rendering, because it refers to the whole service, and that the Christian ministry have to perform or celebrate that service instituted by our Lord, and never to cease doing so until He Himself shall return to earth at His second advent, then neither Anglican nor Roman will deny the truth of this definition. If it be said that the word "offer" is the better rendering, because it refers to a certain aspect of the service, and that it brings into prominence

* I. Cor. xi. 24, 25.

the Sacrifice of Christ, and thus gives us one of the reasons why the service should be unceasingly rendered by Christian Priests, then, again, Anglicans and Romans are in accord.

It is the greatest misfortune that has ever happened to Christendom, and, therefore, to the whole world, that Christians have not been content to leave the great Sacrament which was intended to be the bond of union and communion between them and their Lord just as Holy Writ leaves it. Every word that our blessed Lord or His Heaven-caught Apostle has said, concerning this Sacrament, does the Anglican Church believe with its whole heart and soul, and with the profoundest loyalty. When men, however, have presumed to limit the incomprehensible, to define God's mystery, and to say that thus far and no further shall God's ocean of love come, then Anglicans have protested. They have maintained that subtle definitions overthrow the very nature of a sacrament; that a sacrament is, by its very nature, beyond mortal ken; that faith is robbed of its exercise; that that which is spiritual is replaced by that which is material. If Rome would cease defining, there would be harmonious accord between her and the Anglican Church. She has, however, strongly insisted, in the Bull under consideration, that her Priests have a power which those of the Anglican Communion have not, and she has strongly maintained that it is owing to this lack of power that the latter have not the true Christian Priesthood or *sacerdotium*. She has further stated that the chief power of the Priesthood is that "*of consecrating and of offering the true Body*

and Blood of the Lord," quoting this sentence from a Canon of the Council of Trent. (*A. C. 65.*) It is, therefore, our province to show that in his power of celebrating the Holy Eucharist the Anglican Priest has, and his Church claims for him, the identical powers which belong to the Christian Priesthood, and which were conferred on the Apostles by Christ Himself. We have till now spoken of this great Sacrament as "the Holy Eucharist." We have done so for this reason, that it is a title given to it both by Roman and Anglican divines, and that it is not the official title given to the Sacrament by either Church. We wished when dealing with the Sacrament, as the heritage of all Christians, to avoid using terms which savoured of controversy, such as the Lord's Supper, the Holy Communion, or the Mass. These terms have been used to designate either certain portions of the whole service, or certain aspects or views concerning it.

We shall now, however, always confine the term Mass to the Roman Liturgy. Unmeaning in its origin and in itself, it has among English-speaking people come to be identified with Roman doctrine. It has been wisely cut out of the Anglican Liturgy and its use deprecated by Anglican divines, and quite recently by the whole American Episcopate.

As to the quotation which Leo XIII. makes against us, from the Canon of the Council of Trent, we have had occasion to refer to this quotation before, and to point out that the Council did not say that the chief power of the Priesthood was that of consecrating and of offer-

ing the true Body and Blood of the Lord. We do not agree with what Leo XIII. says, but we do agree, and agree *ex animo*, with what the Council of Trent does say. This is the Canon :

“ If any one saith that there is not in the New Testament a visible and external Priesthood; or that there is not any power of consecrating and offering the true Body and Blood of the Lord, and of forgiving and retaining sins; but only an office and bare ministry of preaching the Gospel; or that those who do not preach are not Priests at all; let him be anathema.” *

Apart from the last word, which sounds too much like cursing, and for which some such phrase as “ declared to have erred ” might be substituted, we can conceive of no Anglican Priest, if he follows the consensus of opinion of the great Anglican Divines since the Reformation, refusing to sign such a Canon.

Contrary to the gloss Leo XIII. puts on it, it does not say that the chief power of the Priesthood is that of consecrating; it assigns an equal eminence to the power of forgiveness.

As to the stale accusation that the Anglican Church believes in a “ nude commemoration of the sacrifice offered on the cross,” we have already seen that Jewel characterized that statement, when made by his Jesuit opponent, as an “ untruth,” and so have other Anglican Fathers. There is not a syllable in the Prayer Book or Ordinal that countenances such a view.

Let us examine what our Lord commanded should be

* Waterworth’s *Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 173.

done as, or for, a remembrance of Him. The following deductions may safely be asserted to flow from the Gospel and Apostolic narratives :

- 1°. A religious service for Christians.
- 2°. Extending till Christ's second advent.
- 3°. Performed by the Apostles or their successors.
- 4°. In the service there is to be a presentation of bread and of wine which are to constitute the necessary elements of the Sacrament.
- 5°. There is to be a breaking of the bread.
- 6°. There is to be an administration of the Bread and Wine to other persons than the officiant, and an eating and drinking of this Bread and Wine by them.
- 7°. There is to be an intention on the part of all, officiant and communicants, to show forth the Lord's death until He come.
- 8°. All are to drink of the Cup.
- 9°. There is attached to the drinking of the Cup a remission of sins.
- 10°. There is to be a self-examination by all before they presume to eat or to drink.

To these deductions there might be added those flowing from our Lord's discourse as recorded by St. John—such as, that to communicants there is promised eternal life and a resurrection at the last day, but as we desire to confine ourselves to the words of the Institution only, we will pass them by, and limit our examination simply to ascertaining whether the Anglican Church is faithful to the expressed commands of Christ.

Taking then the above ten deductions, or necessary sub-

divisions comprised in the words, "Do this," we find that the first is:

1°. *A religious service for Christians.*

The Church of England provides this beyond any peradventure. She insists that this service, which she entitles, "The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion," shall be celebrated by her clergy at least every Sunday and on certain festivals during the course of the Christian year. This may be said to be her minimum requirement. Her maximum may be said to be a celebration not more than once a day. This may be gathered from her rubrics after the Collects for the First Sunday in Advent, St. Stephen's Day, the Feast of the Circumcision of Christ, and Ash Wednesday.

In the American Church, since the last revision, it may be said that the maximum has been raised, at any rate for that branch of the Anglican Communion, and that the principle is recognized that there may be two celebrations in the same Church on the one day.

A daily celebration is not obligatory on any Priest. It certainly is not even recommended. It is a matter which is left entirely to the discretion of the Parish Priest. It is extremely doubtful whether the Bishop would have the canonical right of ordering a daily celebration in any Church in his diocese, outside, of course, of that particular Church over which he would have jurisdiction as Dean or Rector. Our personal opinion is that he has no such right. There is no doubt, on the other hand, that a Parish Priest is open to censure from his Diocesan if he omits to celebrate this Sacrament on the days for which a special Collect, Epistle

and Gospel are provided. The mind of the Church on that point is abundantly clear. The Anglican Church, however, presupposes a congregation. It is not her mind that a Priest shall celebrate if there is no congregation. It must further, in common fairness, be admitted that it is not her mind that a server shall be deemed a congregation, or that one person in the congregation should be considered as ordinarily sufficient. Cases may arise, and do arise, in country parishes in Canada and the United States and the Colonies, and in parishes outside of Europe, where it is sometimes impossible to secure the attendance of more than one person in the congregation. Bad roads, bad weather, long distances, all these are elements which a faithful and loving Priest must take into consideration, and obeying the unwritten rubric, that the law of charity must prevail, he will accordingly proceed with the Celebration, even if he knows beforehand that only one person will form the congregation. This, however, is the exception; the rule and mind of the Church is that there shall be a congregation, a faithful few, whenever the Priest celebrates, and that, even if he celebrates in a private room for a sick person. A solitary celebration is not countenanced by the Church; nor can it be said to have received the slightest sanction from any of the Fathers of the Church since the Reformation. On the contrary, while they have all abundantly borne witness to the absolute necessity of frequent celebrations, they have equally testified against solitary celebrations.

In the make-up of a religious service there must be further included such a framing of the service that it will be in every sense of the word religious. Religious in

its conception, in its wording, in its positive ceremonies, in its tone, and in its effect on the Priest and people.

It is unnecessary to go into the slightest detail of the service as set forth by the Church of England and her sister Churches to prove that such service is religious in all these points. The question of ritual, more or less elaborate, has nothing whatever to do with this. The writer has heard many a Roman Catholic express himself as shocked and distressed by the irreligious celebration of High Mass at St. Peter's in Rome. The abundant ceremonial did not quicken devotion, nor did it enhance the religious aspect of the service. On the other hand, some of the most solemn celebrations at which the writer has been present have been in days gone by, when the service was conducted without those ritual accessories which we have of late years been taught to value. The solemnity and religiousness of the service really lie in the devoutness of the officiant, provided that the official words given him to say by the Church are in themselves solemn, stately, religious and fitting for so august a service. Let any one read with a prayerful mind, in the secrecy of his own closet, the Roman service and the Anglican service for this dread Sacrament, and we have no fear of the verdict as to which is the more stately, the more scriptural, and the more devotional of the two services.

That the service is for *Christians* is also evident, since no person is to be admitted to the Holy Communion until he has been baptized and confirmed, and further, that the attendance of any persons other than those is not expected, is evident from the very framing of the prayers. It is true that the Church has nowhere ordered that non-baptized

and non-confirmed persons should be expelled from the Church building during the celebration. On the other hand, by her repeated warnings as to what kind of persons she expects to be present and to take part in her services, she does distinctly consider such persons as are not baptized or not confirmed as persons present at a service, but not sharers in, or partakers of, her oblations—classing them somewhat in the same category as the early Church did the *consistentes* or penitents who were admitted to hear the prayers and to share in them, but not in the oblations. That the service is *for* Christians is evident, since it is in a language understood by the people, and the Church not only expects, but enjoins, a participation in her services by her faithful children. How far the Roman service fulfils the requirements of the definition that it should be a religious service for Christians is a matter of considerable doubt. The Roman service is open to several objections. It is in Latin ; it is often conducted by the Priest so that nothing can be heard distinctly by the congregation. The ceremonial is too automatic, too stiff ; it is evident to all that it does not express the individual devotion of the celebrant ; and at High Mass it is oftentimes so elaborate that it teaches nothing, by attempting too much. Many of the Priests even have no idea of the meaning of much that they do. Part of the ceremonial is undoubtedly Pharisaical. To all of which it may be very properly answered by Romanists, that if the Priest will conduct the service quietly, reverently, audibly, learnedly, the hidden beauty of the service will be revealed. This is true. On the other hand, it is equally true that we must take account of men as they

are ; that Priests are just as infirm as laymen, and in religious matters far more so, since custom blunts their finer susceptibilities ; that if the Church of England has erred by a lack of rubrical direction, if she has erred by leaving too much to the individual Priest, on the other hand, Rome has erred by her multiplicity of rubrics, and has stifled all individuality. The Roman service has really resolved itself, for the congregation, into a dumb service, at which the people are told that they are to gaze on every action of the Priest ; consequently, if the people wish to offer any prayers to Almighty God they are to say their own individual prayers irrespective of what the celebrant is saying. From which there flows the pernicious teaching of intention—that the faithful are to offer their prayers with the intention that Christ may join them to the prayers said by the celebrant, and thus accept them. This "intention" becomes the nexus which knits the Priest and people to Christ. This must be admitted to be a departure from the service as instituted by Christ, and as revealed to us by such glimpses as we get of it in Holy Writ. As a service for Christians, we willingly admit that the service as set forth in the Mass is a service intended for baptized and confirmed persons, and that the Roman Church does not desire the attendance at that service of any other class of persons. It is, as her prayers testify, for "all orthodox believers and professors of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith," and "for those present whose faith and devotion are known unto God," and for such as have been "regenerated by water and the Holy Spirit." In point of fact, Rome and England have both equally departed from

the primitive practice ; neither, consequently, is in a position to censure the other as to the attendance of outsiders. In the matter of frequent celebrations Rome has nothing to reproach herself with. If a Priest celebrates daily or frequently on days other than Sundays and great festivals his celebration degenerates into a solitary Mass, even the letter of the law being broken, not a single little boy being present as server to represent the faithful laity.* Rome has erred in allowing solitary Masses. The custom is certainly contrary both to the institution of the service and to the scriptural accounts that we have of it. It is equally contrary to the rule and practice of the primitive Church. Learned Roman writers, like Bellarmine and Bona, have confessed that solitary Masses were completely unknown to antiquity, and were furthermore actually condemned by several Councils. They have, themselves, pointed out that the very words of the Roman Mass, being all in the plural, condemn the custom. The Council of Trent also witnesses against such a custom. It enjoins Priests to "celebrate Mass at least on the Lord's days and on solemn festivals, but, if they have the cure of souls, so often as to satisfy their obligation."† The Council further expresses its desire that all "the faithful who are present should communicate not only in spiritual desire, but also by the sacramental participation of the Eucharist."‡ In the directions

* Whatever the present practice of the Carthusians may be, it is noteworthy that this "strictest sect" of monks used to communicate only on Sundays and Festivals.

† Waterworth's *Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 185.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 156.

given to the Bishops and others how to behave themselves during the sessions of the Council it is especially enjoined that during the service of the Mass "let there be no talking or conversing together, but with mouth and mind association with the celebrant."*

In the tenour of these official utterances Anglicans will all agree, while regretting that in point of practice Rome should so universally depart from them, and that her authorized text books should teach that the Holy Eucharist is not a congregational act of service.† Enough on this point.

2º. Extending till Christ's Second Advent.

It will be admitted by all that Anglicans and Romans are in accord on this point, both doctrinally and practically.

3º. Performed by the Apostles or their Successors.

This is also a point on which Romans and Anglicans agree. Neither Church allows any one but a Bishop, or a Priest duly ordained by a Bishop, to celebrate. We have seen that the power of dispensing God's Sacraments was given to the Anglican Priest at his ordination, and that as the Church of England does certainly in her official teaching include Baptism and the Holy Communion among her Sacraments, she certainly conveyed to her Priests the right to administer both these Sacraments. The rubrics in her Prayer Book allow no one but a Priest or Bishop to celebrate the Holy Communion, nor has she ever departed in point of practice from that law. There is no controversy on this point, whatever controversy there may be in theory, as to the views held by the Church of England in regard to the

* Waterworth's *Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 14.

† Cf. Hunter, p. 295.

nature of the Sacrament, whether it is a sacrifice or not, or as to the mode of Christ's presence in the Sacrament, or as to the benefits to be derived from the right use of the Sacraments. These three points are entirely theoretical, and need not detain us now, when we are only dealing with practical points. Later on we will examine them. It is sufficient for our present purpose to note here, that in law, theory and practice Rome and Canterbury are at one in restricting the celebration of the Holy Eucharist to Priests deriving their succession from the Apostles.

4°. In the service there is to be a presentation of bread and wine, which are to constitute the necessary elements of the Sacrament.

Here again there is accord between Rome and Canterbury. Bread and wine are presented by the celebrant. Bread and wine are the necessary elements of the Sacrament. The mixture of water with the wine is permissible, and has never been condemned. The position of the Church of England leaves the matter just where Scripture leaves it. It is almost certain that our Lord used water with the wine in the cup which He gave to the Apostles, because such was the custom of the people in their domestic and ceremonial use of wine. But it is not absolutely certain that He did so, since the Sacrament which He instituted was a new rite. From which it may be argued, that water with wine is a desirable practice, not repugnant to Holy Writ, but that it cannot be enjoined as an essential. It may further be argued that since both the Orientals and the Romans use the mixture, therefore Anglicans ought to do likewise, so as not to separate themselves from the rest of Christen-

dom on such a matter. To which we can but say, Amen. As to the bread, here we have a more serious question, one that has agitated Christendom since its earliest days. Great scholars have written learnedly on the subject, but the matter is still left in grave doubt, as to what kind of bread Christ used. To the writer the balance of evidence appears to point entirely in favour of leavened bread, and it has always seemed to him that the primitive use of leavened bread is a great argument in favour of this kind having been used by our Lord, as men in those early days would scarcely have liked to alter the custom, but would rather have sought to conform to the Divine precedent. The constant use of leavened bread by the Easterns is again a very strong argument in its favour. All know that the East is very tenacious of ancient customs, while Rome innovates every few years. England, by leaving the use of leavened or unleavened bread optional, seems to have acted with wisdom on such a point. We may indeed be glad that she has done so. It will make the matter of reunion with Easterns much easier. There need be no difficulty on the part of Anglicans to agree willingly and cheerfully to the Eastern view whenever, in God's providence, terms of union be officially discussed. Wafers as used by Rome were unknown till the eleventh or twelfth centuries. In her catechism on the Council of Trent, she admits that the Eucharist can be validly celebrated with leavened bread, though she forbids her Priests to do so.* In her Ordinal, the rubrics are a standing reproach to her, for they order that oblations shall be made of barrels of wine and loaves of bread, thus witness-

* Waterworth's *Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 151.

ing to the primitive practice of taking the elements from the oblations of the people. We must be thankful that our Fathers left us free liberty on this point, so that we are not bound by a hard and fast rule to depart, as many would assert, from Scripture, antiquity and the East.

5°. *There is to be a breaking of the Bread.*

Both the Roman and Anglican rubrics direct that the Bread shall be broken, but the time when the Fraction takes place is different. The Anglican takes place as illustrative of our Lord's words, and as an imitation of His action. This undoubtedly was the Fraction in use in the early period of the Church's history, and when the Reformers restored this action, they were reverting not only to primitive practice, but to what there is evidence to believe had been the national practice in England. When elevation for adoration came to be introduced in the Roman Church in the eleventh century, the Fraction before elevation was inconvenient, hence it came to be discontinued, and a pretence or feigning to break the Bread superseded the actual fraction at this point. The Roman rubric directs that the Fraction shall take place after the consecration, and is a mere ceremonial act, there being no reference or allusion, however remote, to the act of the Priest in the prayer during which the Fraction is made. In so far as the time of the Fraction is concerned, the Anglican ritual is superior to the Roman. It is, however, much to be regretted that in the Fraction itself, both Anglicans and Romans have departed from the action of our Lord and from the symbolical teaching of St. Paul. The Bread when offered should be one and unbroken, not divided into separate wafers or cubes, and

only of this one Bread, broken for all, Priest and people should be partakers. This alone meets the scriptural requirement. The Christian idea both of Sacrifice and of Communion is lost sight of completely in the offering of separate wafers or cubes and the consequent individualization. It may possibly be admitted that if there is an actual Fraction accompanying the words of the Institution, the sub-division of the one Bread may take place by a second Fraction before the distribution. At any rate, the Bread given to the Faithful must not be unbroken. The old Roman service books directed how the Hosts, then small loaves, should be broken before distribution to the Faithful. The Easterns certainly have the advantage over both Anglicans and Romans in the mode of Fraction. Candidly speaking, it must be confessed that both the letter and the spirit of the law are broken, as well by Anglicans as by Romans, in this respect of the Breaking of the Bread. It may be pleaded on behalf of the Anglican Liturgy that while the custom is to offer divided Bread, and so to consecrate not one, but many Breads, there is no rubric in the Liturgy definitely sanctioning this practice, and that if an Anglican Priest chooses to offer the Bread whole and undivided and to break it afterwards at the Fraction and later on at the Distribution, he violates no rubric. The Roman Priest is, however, bound by his rubrics to offer the bread divided; he has to consecrate one Host for himself, and as many as he deems fit for the communicants. The Roman Liturgy, therefore, enforces the offering of a divided Bread, and the communicating of an unbroken Bread, since the Hosts for the communicants are not only not broken off the One Bread, but are themselves not broken at all.

6°. There is to be an administration of this Bread and of this Wine to other persons than the officiant and an eating and drinking of this Bread and Wine by them.

Here we come to a wide divergence between the Roman and Anglican services. It is a matter too notorious to need any discussion. Rome has broken away from the Rite of Institution, from Scripture, from antiquity, from the East, the North, the West, and the South, from all Christendom by its denial of the cup to all but the celebrant.* Roman scholars admit that this denial did not begin to take place till the twelfth century, and that up till that time the Faithful always received under both species. On the point of administering the Sacrament to all, under both forms of bread and wine, nothing further need be said. All Roman scholars admit that the Anglican practice is scriptural and primitive. As to the administration of the elements to others besides the celebrant, that brings us to the question of celebrations where the Priest alone receives, though there is a congregation of the Faithful in church. A solitary Mass, where the Priest celebrates without a congregation, we have already dealt with. A solitary Mass, where the Priest alone communicates, though there are faithful communicants present, involves the consideration of other points. It certainly is contrary to the Institution where all received from the hands of Christ both the bread

* When the Bishop of Rome celebrates a Solemn Mass, then the clergy officiating as Deacon and Sub-deacon receive under both elements. This is again another of the many instances where the ritual relating to the Bishop of Rome himself bears pathetic witness to Catholic practice and teaching—curious survivals of the bygone days of the Primitive Faith.

and the wine. It is equally contrary to every scriptural reference, to the service which we have, and to antiquity. The custom has grown up, through various causes, from an exaltation of the Priest's importance ; from the denial of the Priesthood of the Laity ; from the view of a vicarious Priesthood ; from the over-elaboration of the Ceremonial ; from disproportionate views of the sacrificial aspects of the service; from the practical excommunication of the laity by insisting on confession to a Priest prior to reception; by insisting on fasting communion as an absolute *sine qua non*, and yet having the service at so late an hour of the day as eleven or twelve. Little by little, owing to these and other influences, there had grown up, at the time of the Reformation, instead of a Church continuing instant in the breaking of Bread, a non-communicant Church.

So strong was the feeling of the Early Church on this point, that persons who were present at the Eucharistic Service were to be cast out of the church if they refused to partake of the Holy Eucharist.*

This point needs no further consideration at present, it will be considered somewhat further when we come to discuss the theories relating to the Holy Communion, and more especially the Sacrifice in the Holy Communion. It is enough to note that in this matter it is Rome that is to blame, and that the Anglican Church, in theory, in law, and in practice, invites and desires communicants to partake of the Sacrament whenever a Priest celebrates, and that it is contrary to almost every word of the prayers of the service for the Priest to communicate either by himself or with

* Cf. Bingham, p. 791.

one or two communicants only out of a church full of faithful and devout laity. In this respect, the Anglican Church is in accord with the Institution, with Scripture and with antiquity.

7º. That there is to be an intention on the part of all, officiant and communicants, to show forth the Lord's death until He come.

The exhortations which are provided in the English Prayer Book, while they are not usually read, at the same time bear witness to the official teaching of the Church on this subject :

“I purpose, through God's assistance, to administer to all such as shall be religiously and devoutly disposed, the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, to be by them received in remembrance of His meritorious Cross and Passion, whereby alone we attain remission of our sins, and are made partakers of the Kingdom of Heaven. Wherefore it is our duty to render most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, for that He hath given His Son our Saviour, Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that Holy Sacrament.”

And again in the Exhortation to those about to receive :

“And above all things ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world, by the death and Passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man; who did humble Himself, even to the death upon the Cross for us miserable sinners, who lay in darkness and the shadow of

death ; that He might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And to the end that we should alway remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour, Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by His precious blood-shedding He hath obtained to us, He hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries as pledges of His love, and for a continual remembrance of His death, to our great and endless comfort."

In the Prayer of Consecration we have, "who did institute, and in His holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that His precious death, until His coming again." In the use of the actual words of the Institution in the Consecration Prayer, "in remembrance of Me," and of the words accompanying administration, "in remembrance that Christ died for thee," "in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee," we have further proof of the mind of the Church in this respect.

These extracts are sufficient to show that the faithful laity have provided for them in the official words which their Priests say to them, and on their behalf, expressions which are sufficiently eloquent of the intention of the Church to show forth, as a corporate act of Priest and people, the Lord's death until He come. The Exhortation directs their intention, and the Prayer of Consecration sums it up on their behalf by the celebrant in his address for them and himself, to God the Father.

Rome is not so explicit. While it is true that in her prayers she alludes to the Passion, yet she does so as she does to the Resurrection and Ascension, and while it is true that she uses the words, "as often as ye do these things, ye

shall do them in remembrance of Me," yet they come after the actual consecration, and she does not provide for any clear mention of the showing forth of the Lord's death until He come. Rome, therefore, cannot be acquitted of negligence in this matter.

8°. That all are to drink of the Cup.

This has been considered under Section 6°. See p. 373.

9°. That there is attached to the drinking of the Cup remission of sins.

This is the undoubted teaching of Holy Scripture. St. Luke's record is : "This cup is the New Testament in My Blood which is shed for you,"* and that of St. Mark is: "This is My Blood of the New Testament which is shed for many,"† while St. Matthew is still more explicit : "Drink ye all of it; for this is My Blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins."‡

In the previous chapter we have seen what the witness of antiquity on this subject is. There is no colour given by any ancient Father to the view that remission of sins was granted by gazing at the celebrant or by assisting at the service ; actual participation of the Holy Communion and the drinking of the cup was that which granted a remission of sins to the penitent communicant.

In the Anglican service we have in the Prayer of Consecration the words of the Institution as recorded by St. Matthew, somewhat enlarged by combining with them the words given by St. Luke :

* xxii. 20.

† xiv. 24.

‡ xxvi. 27.

"Drink ye all of this; for this is My Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many for the remission of sins."

The words "for you" are added with the evident intention of bringing this remission of sins home to the congregation of actual communicants. The Roman Consecration Prayer has:

"Take and drink ye all of this, for this is the chalice of My Blood of the new and eternal Testament; the mystery of faith; which shall be shed for you, and for many, to the remission of sins."

Rome by her words is in accord with Scripture and antiquity, but by her practice of denying the precious Blood to her children she debars them from this remission of sins.

10°. That there is to be self-examination by all before they presume to eat or to drink.

The fundamental principle laid down by St. Paul is duly recognized in the Anglican Liturgy. It has, indeed, been made a complaint against the Anglican Liturgy that this feature has been made too prominent.

The form in which the Ten Commandments and the Responses are cast is virtually that of a self-examination.* If it be pleaded that such a self-examination is neither deep enough, nor suitable as an act of public worship, the answer is ready, that this public self-examination is not intended to supersede the deep, prolonged and earnest self-examination in the closet at home, but that it does answer the purpose of being a very impressive reminder of the self-examination

* Cf. The mode of confession and absolution practised in the Russian Church as given in the chapter on the Eastern Church, *infra*.

previously privately held. The devout Churchman is thus made to link with his public petition for mercy his own private sins or violation of the Commandments. Above all, the invaluable principle is laid down that self-examination must precede the reception of the Holy Communion.

In the Exhortation which states the way and means to "be received as worthy partakers of that holy table" this principle is laid down with the utmost distinctness: "First, to examine your lives and conversations by the rule of God's Commandments, and whereinsoever ye shall perceive yourselves to have offended, either by will, word or deed, there to bewail your own sinfulness and to confess yourselves to Almighty God with full purpose of amendment of life," etc., etc.

The Roman Liturgy is certainly lacking in regard to this Apostolic injunction of self-examination. The only approach to it lies in the private penitential prayers which the Priest says, which certainly have nothing whatever to do with the congregation. In the whole service there is not a single syllable relating to the preparation of the people by way of self-examination. On this point Rome has departed from the positive injunction of Holy Writ, and also from the ancient Liturgies, which contained some kind of Litany or supplication by the congregation for mercy, pardon and peace at the opening of the Liturgy proper.

The positive injunctions of our Lord and of Holy Writ in regard to the celebration of the Holy Eucharist have been briefly examined, and an impartial decision, we hope, arrived at, as to how far the Anglican and Roman Liturgies severally agree therewith.

For a right understanding of the relations of the Christian Priest to this Sacrament, it is essential that we should ascertain the facts concerning its Institution. Antiquity may teach us how these facts were viewed, but nothing subsequent to the Institution can alter the facts upon which the Sacrament rests, nor can any teaching be accounted as scriptural, and necessary to salvation, which runs contrary to the fundamental principles laid down in Holy Writ.

It may be well briefly to recapitulate the Anglican and Roman positions as now ascertained.

THE ROMAN. The Liturgy provides a religious service enshrining the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, but it has departed from the scriptural idea of so conducting it as to make it a service in which the faithful are to take their part, and in which they have the same privileges as the celebrant. Contrary to its own teaching, both kinds of solitary Masses prevail—those where the celebrant is the only person present, and those where the celebrant is the only communicant. The service has thus become, for the most part, a private ceremony of the Priest, in which the faithful have but little part or lot. The frequency of the service leaves nothing to be desired, nor does the teaching in regard to its continuation till Christ's second advent. The ministration of the Sacrament is rightly confined to Priests and Bishops in succession to the Apostles. Bread and wine are presented and form the elements of the Sacrament, though the kind of bread enforced is of doubtful scriptural authority, and is certainly not sanctioned by primitive custom. Bread is broken, though the fraction is not in accordance with Scripture or antiquity, and the communi-

cants receive unbroken bread. Bread alone is administered to the faithful, the Cup, contrary both to Scripture and antiquity, being denied. The intention of the celebrant and of the communicants to show forth the Lord's death is not explicitly taught in her Liturgy. Owing to the withdrawal of the Cup the remission of sins, by drinking thereof, is lost to the faithful laity. The Liturgy provides neither directly nor indirectly for any self-examination prior to reception, though the practice of private confession, which is not mentioned in the Liturgy, may be said to supply in part this defect.

THE ANGLICAN. The Liturgy *agrees* with the Roman in making the celebration of the Holy Eucharist a religious service for Christians, baptized and confirmed, in enjoining frequency of celebrations, in teaching the continuance of the service till Christ's coming, in confining its celebration to Bishops and Priests, the successors of the Apostles, in presenting bread and wine and constituting them the elements of the Sacrament, in breaking the Bread, in the intention that the officiant and communicants show forth the Lord's death until He come, and in attaching a remission of sins to the drinking of the cup.

It *differs* from Rome in so framing the service that the faithful are able to take their full share and lot in it, and enjoy all their privileges, in leaving the kind of bread optional, in the time at which the Fraction takes place, in not insisting on the bread being subdivided before being offered, in administering the Cup to all, faithful laity and Priests alike, in more strongly emphasizing the intention of Priest and people to show forth the Lord's death till He

come, and in publicly insisting on self-examination prior to reception. By restoring the Cup to the laity it further differs from Rome by granting remission of sins thereby to the penitent communicant.

The true *sacerdotium* of the Christian Priest must consist in closely following the divine commands; any departure from a command by Christ must vitiate by so much that Christian *sacerdotium*. A careful study of the points of agreement and of difference between Romans and Anglicans in the administration of the most comfortable Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood will surely lead any impartial reader to admit that there has been no departure by the Anglican Church from Christ's positive commands, with the exception of the Fraction, and that not by force of rubrics, but by custom. Rome, on the other hand, has departed, both by force of custom from the original mode of service, and intentionally from the original Fraction and administration.

It is impossible for Rome to avoid pleading guilty to the charge of having been an unfaithful steward of the Divine Mystery as confided to her by the Great High Priest in regard to the administration of the Sacrament of His redeeming love.

We shrink from affirming that the true *sacerdotium* of Christ has been utterly eliminated from the Roman Liturgy, as Leo XIII. has so rashly affirmed in regard to the Anglican, but we dare not deny that it has been sadly impaired and maimed. None but Christ Himself can know how far His Sacrament is robbed of its efficacy by the wilful disobedience of Roman Priests. We must, however, own with

sorrow that the Sacrament which ought to be the bond of union among Christians, and of them with Christ, has by Roman perverseness become the fruitful cause of discord. Rome has transformed the rite from one of Christian fellowship to one of party badge. As the Christian *summum sacerdotium* gradually sunk out of sight in the Roman Church, eclipsed by the ever growing imperial temporal power, so the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ came to be viewed, not so much as an act of high participation in Church privileges but as the actual admission to and condition of State privileges. Consequently a man became a heretic or a rebel, the terms being thus synonymous, not if he did not believe in the ordinance as instituted by Christ, but if he did not believe the wording of the oath tendered to him defining a certain aspect of that ordinance.

This is really the underlying meaning of this proclamation by Leo XIII.

The charge against Anglicans is not that they have not the true *sacerdotium* or Christian Priesthood, but that they do not entertain the same views of that Priesthood or *sacerdotium* that Rome at present does.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD OR TRUE SACERDOTIUM.

VII. ITS POWER OF OFFERING SACRIFICE.

TO PRESENT GIFTS TO THEE, AND SPIRITUAL SACRIFICES.—*Liturgy of St. Chrysostom.**

THE power of offering sacrifice by a Christian Priest may be said not to lie in any divine command, but in the nature of the office. Christ gave no definite command to His Apostles to offer any particular sacrifice, nor did He even give them any general command to that effect. We look in vain among the powers entrusted to the Apostles for any clear power to offer sacrifice. It may be said, therefore, that if there is any sacrificial power belonging inherently to the successors of the Apostles, it must be contained among the indefinite powers conveyed by the general com-

* Neale and Littledale's *Primitive Liturgies*, p. 111.

mand to teach and to observe all things whatsoever Christ commanded to His Apostles. The only way to arrive at any degree of certainty in such a matter is to ascertain in what light the Apostles and their immediate successors regarded their ministry, and further to see what traces of sacrificial intent may be found in the very earliest Liturgies or services for the administration of the Holy Eucharist.

In other words, we now leave the solid domain of fact, and enter upon an investigation of theories.

A proper understanding of the various names by which the Sacrament instituted by Christ on the eve of His crucifixion has been called, will help us to realize the differing views in which that Sacrament was held. Men will ever give to a rite the name which popularly expresses its principal feature. The Apostolic name for that Sacrament was Breaking of Bread. The names given it by St. Paul are the Lord's Supper and the Communion of the Body and of the Blood of Christ. The sub-apostolic writers call the Sacrament by the names of Oblation (Clement of Rome), Sacrament (Pliny), Eucharist (Ignatius), Sacrifice (Justin Martyr), and Commemoration (Justin Martyr). For the first three centuries these appear to be the only titles by which the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ was known. Commencing with the fourth century, we find Origen using the term Passover, and toward the close of that century we find St. Ambrose using the term Mass in reference to this Sacrament.

Of the ten titles given, all explain themselves except the last. Originally applied to any service, as evident from Cassian, it grew to be restricted from the fifth century to the

principal service. It is in itself a perfectly unmeaning and inappropriate term, which has accidentally attached itself to the service. Round it there have clustered various associations and meanings, so that now it has come to mean in common parlance not only the service of the Roman Church, but also the peculiar views of that service and of the Sacrament itself held by Romanists. While originally, and in itself, it had nothing whatever to do with the idea of sacrifice, it has in the course of centuries come to convey an exceedingly definite idea of sacrifice. We shall have, therefore, to include the term Mass among the sacrificial terms. All the other terms are capable of conveying, if so desired, a sacrificial meaning. Breaking of Bread, the Lord's Supper, the Holy Communion, and the Passover are terms all four of which imply, if we use them sacrificially, a feeding on the sacrifice. Eucharist and Commemoration have a more spiritual meaning, since they can only be used metaphorically in any sacrificial sense. Sacrament has no connection with sacrifice at all, while Oblation and Sacrifice are both unmistakably sacrificial terms. Roman writers with unscrupulous cleverness beg the whole question by unblushingly asserting that the Apostles celebrated Mass. Poorly educated persons are thus led to believe that not only is the term scriptural and apostolic but that all the teaching and ceremonial that goes under the name of Mass is consequently of divine and apostolic origin. As educated Romanists have denied that this term is still so used, it will be well to give some extracts from a very popular and authorized manual on the Mass, that has reached its fifteenth edition.

"It was St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles and head of Christ's Church, who said the first Mass."*

"St. Peter's chasuble was conveyed from Antioch to the Church of St. Genevieve at Paris, and there carefully preserved."†

"The first Mass was celebrated at Jerusalem."‡

And we are gravely asked to believe that the ancient wooden altar preserved in the Church of St. Pudentiana, Rome, is the one "upon which St. Peter used to say Mass during his Roman Pontificate," and the inscription is quoted as if it verified the fact.

"Upon this altar St. Peter used to offer the Body and Blood of our Lord, in behalf of the living and the dead, for increasing the number of the faithful" (p. 114).

Private Masses in which only the Priest himself communicates "have been practised from the very days of the Apostles themselves, the most indubitable testimony proves."||

Since the term "Mass" was not used to designate this Sacrament until near the close of the fourth century, and since the ceremonial and doctrine of the Mass has been constantly added to even since that date, it is very disingenuous to saddle on the Apostles all the un-apostolic and unprimitive teaching and ceremonial of Rome, by applying the name of Mass to that Sacrament which the Apostles termed Breaking of Bread, the Lord's Supper, or the Communion.

* O'Brien on the Mass, p. 18.

‡ Ibid, p. 20.

† Ibid, p. 21.

|| Ibid, p. 8.

It has been seen that certain titles applied to the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ by the primitive writers are patient of a sacrificial meaning.

Let us therefore understand just what the early Church meant by applying such terms to this Sacrament. At the outset it is well to remember that the term Sacrifice, as applied to Christian worship, is an unhappy term, owing to its old associations, and that in the minds of most people it always conveys the idea of offering and slaying at the present time of worship a living victim. The second Council of Nicæa well expressed the reluctance of thoughtful Christians to use the term when it declared that "what sacrifice or altar meaneth, we, being Christian people, in a manner cannot tell," and Bishop Andrewes, strongly as he believed in the Eucharistic Sacrifice, when speaking of the Jewish Passover, says "by the same rule theirs was, by the same may ours be termed a *sacrifice*; in rigour of speech, neither of them, for (to speak after the exact manner of Divinity) there is but one only sacrifice properly so-called, that is, Christ's death, and that sacrifice but once actually performed at His death." *

First, therefore, it is essential to define the term sacrifice. It may mean

- 1°. That which is made holy by being offered to God.
- 2°. A supreme act of corporate worship to God.
- 3°. The ceremonial offering of food which is afterwards partaken of by the Priest and initiated worshippers, such as bread, milk, fruit, wine, or other food, not necessitating the slaying of a living victim.

* Quoted by Denton, *Grace of the Ministry*, p. 433.

4° The ceremonial slaying and offering entire of a living victim without any feeding thereon by the worshipper, as in the case of the burnt offering.

5°. The ceremonial slaying and offering of a living victim and a subsequent feeding thereon.

Bearing in view these five definitions of sacrifice, let us see which of them we find expressed in the titles applied to this Sacrament by the early Fathers. The Breaking of Bread may come under the first three definitions, but could not come under the fourth or fifth. The use of the term Lord's Supper by the Fathers is rather ambiguous; it is difficult to decide when they mean the supper which preceded the institution of the Sacrament, the Sacrament itself, or the Love Feast of the early Christian Church, or the two latter, or all three. Little, if any, sacrificial meaning seems to have been attached to this term.

The Holy Communion does not seem to have been a very common title in the first two centuries, at any rate. When used in the third and subsequent centuries it is used to express the threefold sacrificial idea of a communion between communicants and their common Saviour, Priest, and King, by partaking of a common meal. It included, therefore, the first three definitions of Sacrifice.

The Passover was a title used always in a metaphorical sense, implying that Christ was the true Passover Victim, and that the Christian feast succeeded the Paschal feast, just as Baptism is called the Christian circumcision. The term can hardly be said to have acquired any special or definite Christian meaning of itself. The Oblation was a more distinctive Christian appellation. We find the terms "ob-

lation of fine flour," "oblation of gifts," "oblation of alms," "the oblation of bread." For the first two centuries the oblation is confined entirely to what might be termed the gifts or first fruits offered by the people through the Priest to God—oblations before the consecration, as we should now term them. Later on we find, in addition to these oblations, mention of "offering Christ's Body and Blood," an oblation, therefore, of the consecrated elements. This term would include the two first definitions, only, of sacrifice.

The Eucharist was undoubtedly the popular term from the time of St. Ignatius, who is the first of the Fathers to use it. So appropriate was this term felt that not only have both Easterns and Latins used it, but it has passed into the devotional language of Anglicans. It is really the Catholic term for the Sacrament—Catholic in the sense of universal, Catholic in the sense of orthodox. The Holy Eucharist and the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving have been considered equivalent terms and would therefore only include the two first definitions. The commemoration, or memorial (*ἀνάμνησις, μνήμη*). This term was frequently employed to denote the memorial or commemoration of Christ's Passion and of His Sacrifice. It was the "Doing this in remembrance of Him." It is clear that this term could not go further than the first three definitions of the word sacrifice.

The word sacrifice (*θυσία*) is often mentioned, and that by the earliest Fathers. The Sacrifice of the Eucharist seems to be the favorite expression. Toward the middle of the third century the word sacrifice was used more especially as representing the commemoration of the Sacrifice of Christ

on the Cross. Thus the word came to have a two-fold meaning, a spiritual sacrifice, and a commemorative sacrifice. The term sacrifice thus used in early times, when applied to the Holy Eucharist, did not go beyond the first two definitions. For when the third was desired to be included, the term oblation was added. Of the term Mass, enough has been said for the present, seeing that it is not a primitive term.

It must never be lost sight of, when passages from the early Fathers on the Holy Eucharist and its sacrificial aspect are read, that these Fathers wrote before the Roman doctrines on that subject had even been thought of. The Fathers wrote freely, and often used terms which seem to us exaggerated and unreal. We Anglicans are obliged to be more guarded in our terms, for fear lest we be mistaken to accept the Roman doctrine. This is true not only of the Eucharistic sacrifice, but of almost all points where Rome has departed from the primitive faith. We are obliged to be very reserved and reticent in our allusions in regard to the reverence to be paid to the Virgin Mary, for fear lest Mariolatry be ever so little countenanced. Having no fear before their eyes of countenancing any sacrifice of Christ, Himself, on the altar, as taught by mediæval writers, the early Fathers used terms which we can well believe they would avoid using if they were writing at the present moment. After all, these strong expressions are few, and the whole tenour of their teaching must be taken. And that tenour is all against a material and actual sacrifice, such as the Jewish sacrifices were, but all in favour of what they called a "spiritual" sacrifice. When they speak of the Christian

sacrifice being the true sacrifice, they do so as St. Paul did when he spoke of the "true" circumcision. Baptism is really no circumcision. It is only a circumcision for Christians in the sense that the old circumcision was but a foreshadowing of the baptism which is the true and real birth into the Church. In the same sense is the Eucharist the true Passover. In the same sense is the Eucharist the true Sacrifice. The early Fathers used words and terms relating to Holy Baptism which we should nowadays shrink from using. We would hardly say that Baptism makes us of the *same Flesh* as Christ, or that by Baptism we are *dipped into the Blood of Christ*, or that by Baptism an infant continually *eats Christ's Flesh and drinks His Blood*, or that by Baptism we become the very thing signified by the Eucharist, we become the very Bread, the very Body there signified, or that by Baptism we *feed on Christ*, we are *feasted, satiated* by that heavenly food.

If any one should presume to say that Baptism is alone sufficient to the Christian, and that the Holy Communion is unnecessary, since by Baptism we are partakers of Christ's Body and Blood, he would have verbal warrant for such teaching by appealing to St. Augustine and other Fathers, and quoting such isolated passages as are given above. The reply of the educated Christian would be that such teaching, based on extravagant expressions, runs counter to the whole tenour of the teaching of the Fathers.

Thus the Fathers undoubtedly speak of a sacrifice in the Eucharist, and they do undoubtedly call that Sacrament a sacrifice; but on the other hand they are continually qualifying the meaning of such a sacrifice, and the whole tenour

of their teaching is that the sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist and of the Eucharist, is spiritual, a commemorative sacrifice of Christ's Sacrifice, but not an actual sacrifice of Christ, or a renewal of that Sacrifice. With this teaching agree the ancient Liturgies.

From the Liturgy of St. Mark. Before the Consecration.

"The thank-offerings of them that offer sacrifices and oblations, receive, O God, to Thy holy and super-celestial and spiritual altar, to the height of the heavens, by Thy archangelic ministry; of them that offered much or little, secretly and with open boldness, of them that desired and had not wherewithal to offer: and of them that have brought this day their oblations: as Thou didst receive the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel; the sacrifice of our father Abraham, the incense of Zacharias, the alms of Cornelius, and the two mites of the widow, receive also their thank-offerings and give to them instead of things earthly, things heavenly; instead of things temporal, things eternal."*

Liturgy of St. Clement. Before the Consecration.

"And for them that bring offerings and first-fruits to the Lord our God, let us make our supplication."†

Prayer of Consecration.

". . . And we beseech Thee, that Thou wilt look graciously on these gifts now lying before Thee, O Thou self-sufficient God; and accept them to the honour of Thy Christ. And send down Thy Holy Spirit, the Witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus on this sacrifice, that He may

* Neale and Littledale's *Primitive Liturgies*, p. 19.

† Ibid, p. 73.

make this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ." *

After the Prayer of Consecration, by the Deacon.

" Again and again let us pray to God through His Christ, in behalf of the gift that is offered to the Lord God; that the good God will receive it through the mediation of His Christ at His heavenly Altar for a sweet-smelling savour." †

Liturgy of Chrysostom. Before the Consecration.

" That I may stand by this Thy holy Altar and sacrifice Thy Holy and spotless Body and precious Blood. . . . Condescend that these gifts may be offered to Thee by me, a sinner and Thine unworthy servant. For Thou art He that offerest and art offered, and receivest and art distributed, Christ our God ; and to Thee we ascribe, etc." ‡

Prayer of Oblation.

" Lord God Almighty, Only Holy, Who receivest the sacrifice of praise from them that call upon Thee with their whole heart, receive also the supplication of us sinners, and cause it to approach to Thy holy Altar, and enable us to present gifts to Thee, and spiritual sacrifices for our sins, and for the errors of the people: and cause us to find grace in Thy sight, that this our sacrifice may be acceptable to Thee, and that the good Spirit of Thy grace may tabernacle upon us, and upon these gifts presented unto Thee, and upon all Thy people." |

* Neale and Littledale's *Primitive Liturgies*, p. 85.

† Ibid, p. 87.

‡ Ibid, p. 107.

| Ibid, p. 111.

“*Deacon.* Stand we well : Stand we with fear : let us attend to offer the holy Oblation in peace.

“*Choir.* The mercy of peace, the sacrifice of praise.”*

Before the Invocation.

“ Moreover, we offer unto Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice : and beseech Thee and pray and supplicate; send down Thy Holy Ghost upon us, and on these proposed gifts.”†

After the Consecration.

“ Furthermore, we offer to Thee this reasonable service for the whole world.”‡

“ For the venerable gifts now offered before Him and hallowed.

“ That our merciful God, the lover of mankind, Who hath received them unto His holy and heavenly and spiritual Altar, for the savour of a sweet spiritual scent, may in return send down on us His Divine grace, and the gift of the Holy Ghost.”||

“ Hear us, O Lord Jesus Christ our God, out of Thy holy dwelling-place, and from the throne of the glory of Thy kingdom, and come and sanctify us, Thou that sittest above with the Father, and art here invisibly present with us: and by Thy mighty hand make us worthy to partake of Thy spotless Body and precious Blood, and by us all Thy people.”§

Liturgy of St. Basil. Prayer for the faithful.

“ That we may present unto Thee the sacrifice of praise.”¶

* Neale and Littledale’s *Primitive Liturgies*, p. 112.

† Ibid, p. 114.

‡ Ibid, p. 116.

|| Ibid, p. 117.

§ Ibid, p. 119.

¶ Ibid, p. 127.

“Drawing near to Thy Holy Altar, that we may be worthy to offer Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice for our own sins, and for the ignorances of Thy people; receiving which at Thy holy and spiritual altar, for a sweet-smelling savour, send down on us in return the grace of Thy Holy Spirit. Regard us, O God, and look upon this our service and accept it as Thou didst accept the gifts of Abel, the sacrifices of Noah, the whole burnt offerings of Abraham, the priestly ministrations of Moses and Aaron, the peace offerings of Samuel, as Thou didst accept this true service from Thy Holy Apostles, so accept these Gifts in Thy goodness, O Lord, from the hands of us sinners, that, counted worthy to minister blamelessly at Thy holy altar, we may find the reward of faithful and wise stewards, in the dreadful day of Thy just retribution.”*

Before the Invocation.

“And He hath left us as a memorial of His saving Passion these things which we have presented according to His commandments.”†

“We . . . have courage to draw near to Thy Holy Altar, and, presenting the antitypes of the holy Body and Blood of Thy Christ, we beseech Thee and invoke Thee, Holy of Holies, through the good will of Thy bounty, that Thy Holy Ghost may come upon us and on these gifts lying before Thee, and bless and hallow,” etc.‡

* Neale and Littledale’s *Primitive Liturgies*, p. 128.

† Ibid, p. 133.

‡ Ibid, p. 134.

After the Consecration.

"Withdraw not the grace of Thy Holy Spirit from the gifts lying before Thee, because of my sins."*

After the Consecration, before the Communion.

"Advance, O Lord Jesus Christ, our God, from Thy holy dwelling-place, and from the throne of the glory of Thy kingdom, and come to hallow us, who sittest on high with the Father, and art here invisibly present with us, and deign with Thy mighty hand to give us a share in Thy spotless Body and precious Blood, and by us to all the people."†

Such is the teaching of the Eastern Liturgies, and with that teaching Anglicans agree. It must, however, be remembered that these Liturgies are not the original Liturgies as used in the primitive Church. They have been constantly added to, yet taking them as they now are, with one solitary exception, there is not a sentence or phrase in them which an Anglican Priest, thoroughly loyal to his own Church and to its teaching as defined by her Divines since the Reformation, might not heartily say, and officially use, while at the same time preferring the less metaphorical language of his own Service Books, though it will be admitted that the older the Liturgy, and the purer its form, the more in harmony with it will the Anglican service be found. The one exception above noted, and which no loyal Anglican could conscientiously use, is the one occurring in the Liturgy of St. James, a Liturgy now very seldom used.

"Let all mortal flesh keep silence, and stand with fear and

* Neale and Littledale's *Primitive Liturgies*, p. 140.

† Ibid, p. 143.

trembling, and ponder nothing earthly in itself, for the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, Christ, our God, cometh forward to be sacrificed and to be given for food to the faithful; and He is preceded by the choirs of the Angels with every Domination and Power, the many-eyed Cherubim, and the six-winged Seraphim that cover their faces and vociferate the hymn: Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.”*

This anthem could be said or sung *ex-animo* by an Anglican with the exception of the words “cometh forward to be sacrificed.” An Anglican takes words in their literal sense, the Oriental does not; he is fond of mystical terms, and of what to the cold Northerner seems exaggerated symbolism; an Anglican could not say these words, because he would take them as stating that our Lord was sacrificed by the Priest at the Holy Table.

Originally, no doubt, they were used in a highly mystical manner. Still, after all, they are a comparatively modern addition to the Liturgy of St. James. They occur in no other Liturgy, as far as we know, save in that of St. Basil,[†] and then in a different place. In St. James’s Liturgy they occur at the offering of incense at the beginning of the service, in St. Basil’s after the consecration, and just before the communion of the Priest. The words of this anthem or address are not found in the Syriac version of the Liturgy of St. James, nor are they found in any of the more ancient Liturgies bearing the name of St. Basil, but only in the modern form. They, therefore, do not bear on our investigation at all. Our object is simply to ascertain what the

* Neale and Littledale’s *Primitive Liturgies*, p. 38.

† Ibid., p. 137.

Liturgies of the primitive Church taught as to the sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist.

The ancient Liturgies therefore may be said to have used the term sacrifice as coming under the first three definitions we gave on page 388: that which is made holy by being offered to God; that which is a supreme act of corporate worship to God; that which is a ceremonial offering of food afterwards partaken of by the worshippers, not necessitating the slaying of a living victim; but not under the fourth or fifth definitions of a ceremonial slaying or offering of a living victim with or without a subsequent feeding thereon.

In addition, we must remember that there was here presented by Christians a new feature of sacrifice—new to the whole world. For there was an oblation, or commemoration, or memorial of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. There was a constant looking back to that sacrifice, a view entirely new to the world or to any Priesthood.

There was therefore in the ancient Liturgies a constant pleading that God would accept the sacrifice or service (the words were synonymous) then offered at the Holy Table by the Christian Priest, and that He would deign to receive it at His holy and spiritual Altar in Heaven. It was a humble hope that God would accept the services at earthly altars and cause them to be borne and placed on the mystical Altar in Heaven before His dread Presence.

The Presence of God is most assuredly taught by the ancient Liturgies, indeed, it is hard to get away at any moment of the service from the feeling that all is said and done in His Presence. The Presence that is taught seems to be not the Presence of one Person of the Blessed Trinity, but

the immediate Presence of all three. The heavens open. The Father is listening. The mystical Altar in Heaven is revealed. The Holy Ghost overshadows the earthly altar, before which the Christian Priest stands. This is the true and real Shechinah. And our Lord Himself is present at the Holy Table as He was present at His Last Supper; and in that prayer of wonderful beauty, addressed to Him after the consecration, He is asked to come from the throne of His glory and to deign, with His mighty hand, to give to His faithful Priest and people a share in His spotless Body and precious Blood.

In all this teaching of the Eastern Liturgies there is evident an earnest conviction that the Christian Ministry is the mystical continuation of the Jewish Ministry, but made a perfect and true ministry by that which was lacking to the Jewish, the Incarnation, Life and Passion of Christ. Thus do the ancient Liturgies love to reproduce such of the ancient ceremonial as could be considered as foreshadowing the Eucharistic Feast and Eucharistic Presence. The veil, the Holy of Holies, the entrance of the Priest into the Holy of Holies, the recognition of the presence of the Holy Ghost or Shechinah, these and many other features of the ancient Liturgies and of the present Eastern Church are what must ever be borne in mind if we would enter into the spirit of the worship of the early Church during the whole Eucharistic Service.

Let us turn from this survey to the present Roman Missal. Here we find a confused, patchwork service, and we soon feel that we are dominated by a very different idea of worship to that which prevailed in the primitive Church, or which is borne witness to by the ancient Fathers. The

first thing to strike one is that the greater part of the service is a soliloquy on the part of the Priest. The Priesthood of the laity is ignored throughout. Then there comes to the front very quickly the idea that the service clusters round the offering of a Victim. It is not a service of Priest and people, it is the service of a Priest sacrificing a Victim.

"Accept, O Holy Father, Almighty, Eternal God, this immaculate Victim, which I Thine unworthy servant offer unto Thee, my living and true God, for my innumerable sins, offences, and negligences, and for all here present; as also for all faithful Christians, both living and dead, that it may be profitable for my own and for their salvation unto life eternal."

This is the prayer said by the Priest when the Bread is offered at the offertory.

After the offering of the Bread and Wine there is the following prayer:

"Come, O Sanctifier, Almighty, Eternal God, and bless this Sacrifice prepared to Thy Holy Name."

This invocation is by Romans not considered as effectual, since it is in that part of the service called by them the Ordinary of the Mass, and they do not believe that this invocation effects any consecration of the elements. In the Canon of the Mass, we find traces of the ancient Liturgies, such as:

"We offer up to Thee this sacrifice of praise."

"Accept this oblation of our service, . . . which oblation do Thou, O God, vouchsafe in all things to make blessed, approved, ratified, reasonable and acceptable, that it may be-

come to us the Body and Blood of Thy most beloved Son." In the offering after the consecration we have :

"We offer unto Thy most excellent Majesty of Thy gifts and grants, a pure Victim, a holy Victim, an immaculate Victim, the holy Bread of eternal life and Thy Chalice of everlasting salvation."

Then follows the prayer that "these things" may be borne to God's altar in Heaven :

The leading idea of the Roman service is not the same as that of the Eastern, and it has far departed from that of the primitive Church.

The leading idea of the Eastern was, as we have seen, to link the Eucharist in a mystical manner with the Jewish offering and service—that of the Roman is rather to link the Eucharist with the pagan Roman sacrifices and with a literal conception of the Jewish rites. It has engrafted on the Jewish worship, and on the primitive Christian worship the Roman pagan idea of sacrifice. The whole history of the Roman Church has been not to conquer ignorance but to be conquered by it. In that sense the Roman Catholic Church is truly democratic or ruled by the people—when public opinion demands a change in doctrine that change is conceded.

The Roman Church, after it was, most unfortunately for its soundness in the faith, cut off from the Greek language, and began to adopt Latin terms, took very naturally, but most unwisely, the sacrificial terms of the pagan Roman Priests. The pure offering of the Christian Eucharist came thus to be a Hostia or Victim. The Priest from being an offerer to God of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,

and of a memorial sacrifice, came to be the offerer of a real Victim on an earthly altar. Roman writers admit, how could they else?—that the terms they employ, such as “offer, immolate, host, victim, are borrowed from the sacrificial rites of the heathen Roman.”* At first, no doubt, they were used in a mystical and spiritual sense, but the populace using and having used the same old accustomed words naturally and inevitably attached to them their old and accustomed meanings. Such was one current of ignorant thought.

Then another point may be stated. The laity in Europe were, as all historians admit, from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries grossly ignorant. There were great exceptions, of course, but the ordinary run of the laity were ignorant beyond our present conception. It was deemed right and essential that they should be taught objectively, since they could not read, hence came the development of the ceremonial of the Mass. The laity rarely communicated. They were dimly conscious that some stupendous miracle was being wrought by the Priest, at the altar, amid the clouds of incense. They did not hear his words. They did not follow the service. They gazed, and were told to adore when a bell rang. This may have been the only way whereby the masses could be in any way even superficially Christianized; at any rate, let us admit that the motive of the Roman Church in establishing such a service was at first pure and lofty. It had this unfortunate result. Men were told that at a certain moment Christ came down on the altar and was there sacrificed. That His Body and His Blood were

* O'Brien, p. 277.

there, and that not by any figure of speech, but truly His Flesh and His Blood. Some daring spirits doubted and questioned, but the great bulk believed in a corporeal Presence on the altar. The great bulk of the Mass Priests were recruited from this same ignorant class. The learned and the ambitious allied themselves to the different monastic orders. Only through their help was the path of promotion and of worldly honour open. The great scholars also belonged to some monastic order, for in their libraries alone could study be pursued. No doubt that the ordinary Mass Priest, ignorant and unlettered, just able to learn by heart the words of consecration and of absolution and other essential forms, firmly believed in a corporeal Presence. If he doubted, or if his people doubted, bleeding hosts and chalices were conveniently at hand, or could be sworn to, to reassure the wavering faith. As philosophy emerged from under its dark eclipse it was impressed in aid of the service of the Church, and it offered to scholastic and metaphysical doubters the solution of the transcendent difficulty of a corporeal Presence invisible to the senses by reviving the old query as to what was matter. The reality of things lay beyond our senses. We saw nothing really. What we saw was only what we thought we saw, and what we touched was only what we thought we touched. This was the origin of the theory of transubstantiation. A theory that might satisfy the speculative intellect, but a theory which the ignorant could not grasp. The multitude, therefore, calmly maintained their old faith in a corporeal Presence. That was a simple and not a complex idea. Thus again did another current of ignorant thought sweep over the Roman

Church and carry away before it all the old mystical and spiritual ideas of offering, sacrifice, and presence. Words which in themselves are patient of a mystical meaning came, in the Roman Missal, to have only a gross and material construction put upon them. The Eastern Church preserved the more spiritual character of its Eucharists by its marked reverence to the Third Person of the Ever Blessed Trinity, and by its tenacious clinging to the invocation of the Holy Ghost for the perfection of its consecrations.

The very offering of the Bread in the Prayer of Consecration, where the Bread is spoken of as a holy Victim, an immaculate Victim and which was wrongly construed to mean an actual living Victim or Victim of a living creature, is followed by a second prayer explanatory of the figurative, mystical meaning of the word *Hostia* or Victim.

The Priest's intercession continues :

"Upon which (*i. e.*, the holy Host and the Chalice) vouchsafe to look with a propitious and serene countenance, and to accept them, as Thou wert graciously pleased to accept the gifts of Thy just servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham, and that which Thy High Priest Melchisedec offered to Thee, a holy Sacrifice, an immaculate Victim."

In this explanatory prayer the "Host" is really compared not with the sacrifices of Abel and Abraham, but with that of Melchisedec. It is to the Bread and Wine offered by the latter that the terms a "holy Sacrifice, an immaculate Victim," are applied. Certainly in no real sense of the word was that offering of Melchisedec a *Hostia* or a Victim, and it was a sacrifice only in the sense of the third clause of our defi-

nitions, a ceremonial offering of food afterwards partaken of. To offer a Victim like Melchisedec did is really to offer no Victim at all. Roman theology, mastered by the two currents of thought from the ignorant populace—that of offering a Victim and that of seeing in the consecrated elements the Victim offered—perverted the sense of its own Liturgy, and fastened upon its words originally intended to be taken in a spiritual manner and made them serve as apologists for their own subsequent non-spiritual teaching.

Long before the actual Prayer of Consecration is reached, the prayer of the Priest at the offertory terms the unconsecrated Bread the “immaculate Victim.” In fact the wording of the oblation at the offertory is more sacrificial in the Roman sense than it is at the Prayer of Consecration. It is an offering of the immaculate Victim for the remission of sins.

The Council of Trent in its first chapter on the Sacrifice of the Mass, though the wording is undoubtedly clumsy, has not defined the mystery of the Eucharistic sacrifice in terms which an Anglican need reject. We are told that Christ's Priesthood is after the order of Melchisedec, and because it was not to be extinguished by this sacrifice on the cross, therefore He had instituted on the eve of His death “a visible Sacrifice, such as the nature of man requires, whereby that bloody Sacrifice, once to be accomplished on the cross, might be represented and the memory thereof remain even unto the end of the world” * and that “under the symbols of Bread and Wine, He delivered His own Body and Blood.”

The catechism of the same Council repeatedly declares of the Sacrifice of the cross, “that its memory” is to be “cele-

* Waterworth's *Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 153.

brated daily throughout the Universal Church." * The same catechism refers to the Council of Trent † for its statement that Christ commanded His Apostles and His successors "to immolate and offer in sacrifice His precious Body and Blood." Here a statement is made which is not true. We have no record of any such command. It has been pleaded that when our Lord used the word *ποιεῖτε* he employed a sacrificial term meaning to "offer." Perhaps He did (our own personal opinion is that He did), but there is no absolute certainty that the word, as our Lord used it, was used in a sacrificial sense. It is only a theory that it was. Even if He did use the word in a sacrificial sense, and the word "do" ought to be translated "offer," then it is very uncertain what was to be offered. Was it the whole service, or was it only a part of the service? We have many instances of the use of the word in the Septuagint where it simply means to prepare an offering, and again where it means to perform an action. To build on such an insecure basis any vital doctrine would be most precarious. Outside, therefore, of a possible theory as to the meaning of "do this," or the equally possible theory as to the sacrificial meaning of "in remembrance of me," we have no scriptural warrant for saying that Christ has commanded "to immolate and offer in sacrifice His precious Body and Blood." This is a doctrine which the catechism of the Council of Trent insists on.

"We immolate and offer in sacrifice this most holy Victim." ‡

* Page 173.

† Page 174, where the reference is "Conc. Trid., Sess. XXII., c. 1."

‡ Page 175.

Let us now turn to the Anglican Liturgy and official teaching.

First let us take that which Romans most object against us—the language of the Thirty-first Article. The language is strong, but not a whit too strong to condemn the error alluded to. The title of the article is *Of the One Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross*. Therefore the whole of the article must be read as explanatory of its title. It is:

“The Offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.”

Now, we ask, why should an educated Roman refuse to sign the above article?

We can well understand the Mass Priests of the middle ages being shocked at such a declaration. We can well understand ordinary peasant Priests in Italy or South America or in the Spanish Colonies feeling outraged at such a pronouncement. But why an educated Roman Priest should stumble at this Article, has always been a mystery to us. Is it because it is an Anglican definition and must therefore *ipso facto* be wrong? Surely no Roman who studies his Bible will cavil at the doctrine expressed in the title or in the first sentence. If so, why should he cavil at the second sentence, which is but a corollary of the first, and declares that any sacrifice which robs Christ's sacrifice on the Cross

of its perfection is a blasphemous fable and a dangerous deceit?

Bishop Gardiner was no favourer of the Reformation, yet even he could say of the reiteration of Christ's Sacrifice that it was "a mere blasphemy to pre-suppose it."

The article was written and composed by men who had long been familiar with the gross and corrupt views of the Eucharistic sacrifice which had widely prevailed for centuries. The very wording of it shows that it is not aimed at the *Sacrificium Eucharisticum*, but at the vulgar or popular teaching about the sacrifices of the Masses. While, therefore, this Article does not touch the Eucharistic sacrifice, Article XXVIII. does undoubtedly, and without equivocation, attack the official Roman teaching of the mode of our Lord's presence in the Holy Sacrament of our Redemption.

There has been, of late years, an attempt to minimize our differences with Rome. It is right that we should do this in regard to non-essentials. As to essentials there can be no compromise or paring away the truth. The Church of England and all her sister Churches have solemnly affirmed their disbelief in Transubstantiation; and the martyrs for conscience sake, in Queen Mary's reign, died rather than say that they believed it, though they willingly admitted the presence of Christ and that the Bread and Wine became Christ's Body and Blood. Men and women have been persecuted and done to death by the Roman Church whenever she had power to do so, for refusing to declare their belief in Transubstantiation. It is idle nowadays to attempt to fall back upon philosophical and metaphysical

explanations of the word so as to make it palatable to non-Roman Christians. Rome has solemnly affirmed, at the Council of Trent, her faith in Transubstantiation, and though here and there devout and spiritual-minded persons in her communion will say that no material or corporeal presence is meant, yet this is the teaching of the great majority of her Priests and the belief of the vast majority of her faithful communicants. If Rome wishes to clear herself of this imputation she has but to cross out the word Transubstantiation from her official vocabulary and substitute for it a simple statement of her belief in our Lord's presence, and that the Bread and the Wine after consecration become the Body and Blood of Christ.

This dogma of Transubstantiation is that which causes men and women baptized by Rome's Priests and confirmed by her Bishops never to cross the threshold of her churches, or to seek the ministration of her Priests, when they come to years of discretion. All through the Latin countries where Rome has held dominion her children are her shame, and not her glory. The men are anti-Catholic if not anti-Christian. The women are a curious mixture of scepticism and superstition.

The further statement of Article XXVIII. must also be accepted as antagonistic to Roman theology and practice:

"The Body of Christ is given, taken and eaten, in the supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the means whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith.

"The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up or worshipped."

It is not the province of this work to enter into all the differences between Anglicans and Romans, therefore a mere repetition of the official statements of the Church of England, as above, is sufficient in regard to that point.

What we have to consider is not the mode of Christ's presence, which the Church has never defined and has been careful not to define, but the doctrine of sacrifice. We have seen enough to show us that the Roman view is neither scriptural nor primitive, and we have further seen that certain Roman views on sacrifices were rejected by the Church of England, and incidentally we have seen that the Roman view of the mode of Christ's presence was also rejected.

Let us now see what are the views of the Church of England on sacrifice, and if they are more in consonance with Scripture and antiquity than those of Rome, and whether the departure from Roman views and theories was justifiable.

Apart from Article XXXI., which deals with the Oblation of Christ on the Cross, there is no mention of, or allusion to, sacrifice in the XXXIX. Articles. Let us then turn to the Anglican Liturgy. We have a part of that Liturgy designated as "the offertory." If the sentences there provided are studied, it will be found that the Church esteems the following as offerings to God, in other words, as sacrifices coming under our first two definitions. "That which is made holy by being offered to God," and a "supreme act of corporate worship to God."

- 1°. Our earthly treasures.
- 2°. Our wills.
- 3°. Our goods.
- 4°. First-fruits of the land.

...
...

- 5°. Our work.
- 6°. Our affections.
- 7°. Works of charity.

These are seven distinct offerings which the faithful are enjoined to make to Almighty God.

Part of them are what one sentence truly declares them to be—sacrifices on the altar whereof the Priest is to be a partaker. All of them are real sacrificial acts to the Ever-Blessed Trinity. They are easily subdivided as offerings to God the Father who sustains us, to God the Son who redeems us, and to God the Holy Ghost who sanctifies us.

This service takes the place of what in the primitive Church was the oblation of first-fruits and of Bread and Wine as the offering of the lay Priesthood. St. Cyprian's allusion to this offering is unmistakable, when, reproving a rich woman for not making her offering, he says :

"Thou art wealthy and rich, and dost thou believe thyself to celebrate the ordinance of the Lord who dost not at all regard the offering ; who comest into the Lord's house without a sacrifice ; who takest a part of the sacrifice which a poor person has offered ? "

Canons are numerous enjoining on the faithful to offer their oblations. In England the ancient and primitive practice of bringing oblations of Bread and Wine survived in Wiltshire up to 1638. The fifth rubric at the end of the Holy Communion Service in the Book of 1549 directs the faithful "to offer the just value and price of the holy loaf." The corresponding rubric (7th) in the present English Prayer Book is to the same purport. As the primitive practice died out, the true offertory was lost sight of, and an an-

them sung at this point came to be considered as the offertorium or offertory.

The Roman Liturgy has in one of its prayers a survival of the ancient custom, though the prayer has now lost its ancient meaning and association with the oblation or offertory. This occurs in the Canon of the Mass.

“Be mindful, O Lord, . . . of all here present, whose faith and devotion are known unto Thee, for whom we offer or who offer up to Thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves and all their families.”

The Roman writer, Bernoldus, in the eleventh century, alluding to this empty prayer, says :

“According to the order of the holy Fathers, and the text of the Canon itself, all the people who come into the Office of the Mass ought to offer bread and wine, that the Priest may worthily and fairly say that they have offered the Sacrifice that is before him for themselves and all their families, seeing that the Priest’s prayer by itself is only of his proper faith and devotion, not theirs, who make no offering.”*

In its selection of sentences for the offertory, the Anglican Liturgy has therefore gone back to the scriptural and primitive idea that the laity are to be sharers in the offering, if they would be partakers with the altar. The sentences, as we have seen, do not necessarily refer to money offerings, but they do teach to the laity the offering of themselves, their souls, their bodies as a holy offering unto God. The sentences ended, the alms of the faithful are received, and that the alms are not alone the oblations of the people, is distinctly

* Quoted by Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 352.

shown by the term, "accept our alms and oblations," nor are the elements alone the "oblations," though both alms and elements may form part of the oblations. The oblations are undoubtedly the seven-fold offering of the faithful as taught by the preceding sentences. These oblations form part of what the early Church and the primitive fathers termed the Eucharistic sacrifice, or that portion of it which was the Christian thank-offering. The Church having made her Eucharistic thank-offering can then plead for the whole family of Christ's Church.

The exhortations are emphatic in their strong teaching that the faithful must offer their sacrifice of thanksgiving before they present themselves at the Holy Table.

The Comfortable Words so peculiar to the Anglican Liturgy are eloquent of the promise of salvation, the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the one Sacrifice. Learned liturgiologists have objected against the present position of the Prayer of Humble Access, preferring to place it after the consecration and before the communion. In the writer's humble judgment, the present position is the more suitable. It fills the want which early Christians felt of some humble prayer of preparation for Christ's mystical and yet most dread Presence, and which is entirely wanting in the Roman Liturgy. While it avoids the Roman error of speaking of our Lord as a Victim, it most plainly teaches that the Bread and the Wine about to be consecrated are to the humble communicant His Flesh and His Blood.

The Prayer of Consecration, by leaving out all mention of the sacrifices of the old law, or of the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham and Melchisedec, rightly speaks only of the one,

full, perfect and sufficient Sacrifice. It dare not compare that Sacrifice with any other sacrifice. In this, it is infinitely more sacrificial than the Roman Canon, which, departing from the Primitive and Oriental Liturgies, which contained only references to the sacrifices of the Patriarchs, has added a direct comparison between Christ's Body and their sacrifices.

Next comes the commemoration or memorial of the one Sacrifice, and thus, like the early Christians, does the Anglican Liturgy offer a sacrifice commemorative of the Sacrifice. Thus does she plead that Sacrifice which Christ Himself is ever pleading in Heaven for His Church. Thus does she unite her sacrifice to that of Christ in Heaven. Pleading the Passion of the Son to the Father, she invokes Him that the creatures of Bread and Wine, now lying offered on the Holy Table, may become the most blessed Body and Blood of her Saviour.

Passing from the Consecration Prayer to the Thanksgiving, we come to the definite use of the word sacrifice. The Roman Liturgy uses the word sacrifice with reckless inappropriateness, according to Anglican ideas. Before the consecration the term sacrifice is used four times; after the consecration not once in any public prayer, and only once in the private devotions of the Priest who refers to it as the sacrifice which "I have offered up." We necessarily omit the allusion to the sacrifice of Abraham. The Anglican Liturgy therefore, by using the word sacrifice with studied reserve, emphasizes its meaning when it does use it, and the use of it occurs four times, once in the actual Prayer of Consecration, when speaking of the Sacrifice on the Cross, and no less than three times in the Thanksgiving after the Communion.

1°. God the Father is besought to accept "This our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," which is but the English of the "Sacrificium Eucharisticam" or Eucharistic Sacrifice, and refers to the sacrifice offered to God in the Prayer of consecration.

It is pleaded "that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of His Passion."

It is very noteworthy that this pleading for the remission of sins follows not only after the consecration of the elements, but after the partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ. The scriptural and primitive idea, which we have previously seen, as connecting remission of sins in the Eucharist, not with the presence at the service, but with the actual participation of the Holy Sacrament, is thus plainly brought out.

2°. "We offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee."

Here we have the offering which was made at the offertory and presented as an oblation at the prayer of the Church militant, solemnly presented to God as a sacrifice. In the whole range of liturgical worship no such solemn sacrifice can be found as is here set forth. The faithful who have offered themselves by prayer before the consecration, and who have themselves become consecrated by being partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ, are here solemnly offered and presented to God as a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice.

No Liturgy, past or present, has ever taught the mystery of the Presence of Christ in that Holy Sacrament and Holy Communion with such sublimity.

Is not this the Sacrifice which the prophets longed to see? Is not this the Sacrifice which the patriarchs by shadowy types pre-figured in their earthly worship—the solemn offering and presentment to the Father of Christ in us, and us in Him?—the solemn offering and presentment to the Father of the mystical Body of Christ, that Church which is one Body with Him. And Rome with her halting Liturgy dares to tell us that our Priests offer no sacrifice to God!

Let Rome look to her own service, let her restore to the faithful their offering, their sacrifice. Let her take to heart that there can be no sacrifice at all in the Holy Eucharist, unless there be the full sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or of the faithful—else there can be but a representation of a sacrifice. The sacrifice is then not ours, it is the Lord's only. Let her restore the Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross to its true central and vitalizing position. At present she does not mention it even once in the Canon of her Mass. Every sacrifice but His is mentioned; His only is cast out of sight. Let her cease from calling the Bread alike unconsecrated or consecrated, the Victim; let her return to the old paths, and teach her Priest not to offer his sacrifice, but the sacrifice of the people, and of the mystical Body of Christ, be it either His Church or His invisible Body, present among His faithful. When she has done that, let her come and suppliantly beg the Church of England pardon for the great wrong she has inflicted on her by influencing her, through

centuries of use of a maimed Liturgy, to banish from her Consecration Prayer the invocation of the Holy Ghost.

If the Anglican Liturgy is deficient, if it is maimed in any way, if it is lacking in any respect, it is not in those matters for which Rome ignorantly carps at her. It is not in what she has discarded from the Roman Liturgy, but in that in which she has followed Roman tradition and intrusion. She has followed Rome in departing from Scripture and antiquity in minimizing the operation of the Holy Ghost. Here she has erred, and her divines have acknowledged it. Whenever the next revision of the Prayer Book takes place she will undoubtedly go back to the ancient paths, and solemnly invoke the Holy Ghost on her Eucharistic Sacrifice. Her daughter Churches in Scotland and America have already led the way in that return.

3°. "And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service."

We have seen that sacrifice and service are interchangeable terms in the ancient liturgies as they were with St. Paul. They are even so still in some parts of the present Roman Liturgy. This last petition is a gathering together, into one act of offering and sacrifice, all the manifold and complicated offerings, oblations, sacrifices, which the Church in her imperfect and inadequate earthly language, imperfect and inadequate because earthly, desires to present to God Almighty, through her one and authentic High Priest, even Christ Jesus. She presents it as her duty, her bounden duty, since Christ bound or commanded her to do it, and at the same time as her free and willing service or homage.

The position of the Gloria in Excelsis may not be according to primitive use, but it is a distinct improvement on that use. It thus becomes the grand hymn of Eucharistic praise sung by the faithful partakers of the Divine Gift in the Divine Presence.

We can now go back to the definitions given at the opening of this chapter and see how far the Anglican and Roman Liturgies by their teaching and ideas of sacrifice have fulfilled them.

1°. That which is made holy by being offered to God.

Here the Anglican Liturgy is far superior to the Roman; for the Anglican Church reserves and confines the term sacrifice to her offerings after they have been consecrated. In other words, while Rome calls her offerings holy, spotless, and sacrifices before they are made holy, spotless, and sacrifices, by being consecrated, the Anglican calls her offerings prayers, supplications, alms, oblations, sinful bodies, creatures of bread and wine, until they have been presented and offered up as sacrifices, but once they have been so offered, she believes them by virtue of that offering and presentment to become holy, in other words, to become sacrifices, and then with holy boldness she so calls them. Her sacrifices become holy in her eyes only after she has received them back from God, after presenting them to Him. Thus again is taught the primitive doctrine of God offering Christ to us, in return for our offering ourselves to Him.

Which is the truest offering of the *sacerdotium* or Christian Priesthood in this case, the Roman or the Anglican?

2°. A supreme act of corporate worship to God.

Here again the Anglican is infinitely ahead of the Ro-

man. The Roman Priest is ever thrusting his own petty self and human acts to the fore, until the Roman Liturgy can best be described as a monologue to God. He refrains not even from calling this great act of worship to Almighty God his worship and his sacrifice, whereas the Christian Priest, as he stands at the altar, is not to offer his oblation and sacrifice, but he is there to offer the oblation and sacrifice of the whole Catholic Church. He stands at the altar as the head of a Christian flock, to offer their oblation and sacrifice, not separately, but as included in that one oblation of the Church Universal. He represents the great High Priest, who gathers all the sacrifices and offerings offered up on earth into one oblation, and so presents it to the Heavenly Father. There are here and there, undoubtedly, in the Roman Liturgy, ancient prayers, witnesses to the ancient belief that the sacrifice is a great act of corporate worship, but they are so little heeded by Priest or people that when a man presumes to offer the great corporate sacrificial act of worship of the Church, the Roman conscience is not shocked at his doing so by himself alone.

Which Church has the soundest idea of the offering of the true *sacerdotium* or Christian Priesthood as an act of corporate sacrificial worship, the Roman or the Anglican?

3°. *The ceremonial offering of food which is afterwards partaken of by the Priest and initiated worshippers, such as bread, milk, fruit, wine, or other food, not necessitating the slaying of a living victim.*

In both Anglican and Roman Liturgies the sacrificial food is ceremonially offered, and is to be partaken of by Priest and worshippers. So far they agree. In point of prac-

tice at most celebrations of this Sacrament, the Roman Priest alone partakes of the food ; the non-communicating of the worshippers, to that extent, vitiates the correspondence with this definition of a sacrificial offering. It is a more serious defect than at first appears, for remission of sins has ever been attached to the partaking of the Sacrifice. In this respect the practice of the Anglican Church has been sound and healthy. It has been deplored by persons who advocate celebrations without lay communicants, that the spirit of the Anglican Liturgy is contrary to their ideas of what is right. Of course it is, since the spirit is that of Scripture and antiquity, and even of the Roman official formularies, for, as we have seen, the Council of Trent deprecated such celebrations. In another point Rome goes against this definition by her constant use of the word *Victim* in her Liturgy, thus implying her desire to have a living Victim to offer.

Again we ask, Which Church has the truer idea of the ceremonial offering of sacrificial food for Priest and worshippers as the offering of the true *sacerdotium* or Christian Priesthood, Rome or England ?

4°. The ceremonial slaying and offering entire without any feeding thereon by the worshippers, as in the case of the burnt offering.

5°. The ceremonial slaying and offering of a living Victim and a subsequent feeding thereon.

Under these two definitions come the sacrifices of the old law, and under the first, pre-eminently that of the Passover. Romans and Anglicans both deny that their Liturgies are patient of any such interpretation as would allow that there is an offering of a living Victim, which is slain and fed on.

On the other hand, it is admitted by both that in a memorial or commemorative sense there ought to be such a sacrifice. For the Council of Trent justly says that the reason of the institution of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is to be found in those words, "*Do this in commemoration of Me.*"*

As a commemorative sacrifice then, and not as a sacrifice of a present, living Victim, do both Liturgies equally agree? No! The Roman, by its constant use of the word Victim, tends to destroy the commemorative force of the sacrifice. It thereby tends to make the people believe in the actual offering on an earthly altar of Christ Himself, as a Victim, whenever the Priest celebrates Mass. The constant use of this term much obscures the commemorative view of the sacrifice. It takes men's minds away from the one true Oblation and Sacrifice on Good Friday, and men see in the act of the Priest a reiteration of the tragedy of the Cross. It is said, and justly, that the Roman Liturgy does not teach this explicitly. It does not. It does so, however, implicitly, and the belief which Gardiner reprobated at the time of the Reformation is still the belief, unauthorized, if you will, but still the belief, unrebuted, of countless thousands of Romans at the present moment. In this very controversy on Leo's Bull, a Vatican apologist, the Rev. S. J. Smith, speaks of the "renewal" of "the Sacrifice of Calvary."†

The Latin Church has almost from the first had a very infirm grasp of the sacrifice of the true Christian Priesthood. For centuries it actually slew at Easter a living Victim, a

* Waterworth's *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, p. 153.

† Cf. *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1897, p. 129.

lamb, roasted its flesh, had it brought whole to the altar, and offered as a sacrifice. According to the ritual of Strasburg, the lamb was offered during the Canon of the Mass, before the *Per Quem*. According to other rituals, it was offered after the *Per Quem*. The actual moment when the lamb was offered differed, but all rituals ordered it to be offered during the Mass. The flesh of the lamb was distributed to the faithful. Thus, this abhorrent rite fell under our fourth and fifth definitions of a living Victim, roasted entire, and partaken of by the worshippers. Notwithstanding the energetic protests of the Greeks in the middle of the ninth century against such a gross scandal, the custom was still in existence in the end of the twelfth century. This custom of offering the lamb at the altar on Easter Day appears to have been succeeded, at Rome itself, by a supper held by the Pope in imitation of the Last Supper. This rite, while not as sacrilegious as the former, is but another fruit of the gross materialistic theology of the Roman Church. Their theology never takes account of "the real." It ever confounds the outward, visible sign with the inward, spiritual life. It has never grasped the fact that that which is real is never visible. The Romans, like the Jews, are ever hankering after a visible sign.

Transubstantiation has also helped to foster the idea of a living Victim being offered by the Roman Priest. Roman books of theology are not much behind popular opinions, and it is presented as sacred teaching that Christ's Body becomes killed by the words of consecration.

"By force of the words, the Body of Christ is under the species of Bread, and the Blood of Christ under the species

of Wine, and thus Christ is exhibited as dead, and in a state where He can be used as Food and Drink." *

We refuse to believe that this is a true interpretation of the Roman Liturgy, but when a book of systematic theology † that has reached a second edition in the nineteenth century maintains such views, can we wonder if the peasant of the middle ages, or of Italy and South America, nowadays, has a gross and material conception of the nature of our Blessed Lord's Presence in the most comfortable Sacrament of His Body and Blood?

Romanists may retort on Anglicans and say that many of the latter do not believe in any Presence at all, and that they look upon the Sacrament as a nude or bare commemoration of the Last Supper. It is possible that there are such, but if they are of that belief it is a self-chosen belief, not in accord with the plain teaching of the Liturgy and Catechism, nor with the teaching of Anglican divines from the days of Elizabeth.

The official teaching of the Church of England lends no countenance to such a view, while the Roman teaching does countenance the popular, ignorant view of her Sacrament. To accuse Anglicans, therefore, in this way, would be as just as for Romans to be so accused, because countless thousands of her baptized and confirmed children do not believe in any Presence at all, and multitudes do not even look upon the Mass as a holy service, commemorative of the Lord's Passion, as Presbyterians do, but regard the whole Mass as a piece of useless mummery. Her answer would be

* Hunter, Vol. III., p. 286.

† Issued under the imprimatur of Cardinal Vaughan.

that her Liturgy, her formularies, and her Doctors all contradicted such a lack of belief. Nevertheless, it is not unfair to the Roman Church to say that she has not been as faithful a witness as the Anglican to the true ceremonial offering, relating to the one living Victim, by the true *sacerdotium* or Christian Priesthood.

Under whatever definition sacrifice be ranked, it is quite evident that in regard to the offering of the true *sacerdotium* or Christian Priesthood Rome has been a faithless steward. She has forsaken the old paths. She has, by novelty of doctrine and ceremonial, obscured the Sacrifice of the Cross. She has de-spiritualized the ancient Liturgies. She has encouraged her people to believe in fables. She has caused the great Church of England to err in paying but scant homage to God the Holy Spirit. By her gross conceptions of the word sacrifice, she has forced Anglicans to employ that word with studied reserve, and has thus deprived them of the freedom of antiquity in using terms which had not become debased or de-spiritualized.

In her arrogance of being wiser than the Great High Priest, has she not been paying the penalty of a spiritual atrophy? Our Lord declared a partaking of His Body and of His Blood to be essential to spiritual life and growth. Can it be that, by cutting her children off from one half of the Sacrament, she has cut them off from one half of the life of Christ? And that thus from lack of proper nourishment one half of her being is atrophied? Imperfect in the administration of the Holy Communion, she has become equally imperfect in her offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

To meddle with the source of life is a dangerous pastime.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD OR TRUE SACERDOTIUM.

VIII. ITS POWER OF TEACHING THE MORAL LAW.

THE NEARER A PEOPLE DWELLS TO THE ROMAN COURT THE LESS RELIGION IT HAS.—
Machiavelli.*

AMONG the general powers conveyed to the Christian Priesthood by our Lord's commission to them to teach all things whatsoever He had commanded them, must be included, and can by no means be omitted, the teaching of the New Commandment which He had given to His infant Church.

"A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another, as I have loved you, that ye also love one another."†

* Quoted by Janus, p. 289.

† St. John xiii. 34.

While our Blessed Lord said that He came not to destroy, but to fulfil the law, His commandment was given whereby the old tables of the law might be transfused, transmuted, transfigured by the spirit of that love which animated the Father to give His Son to exhibit the greatest possible effect of love, by dying for mankind. Therefore was it that in summarizing the old law did our Lord dwell on the great difference between the spirit of Judaism and that of Christianity. Love was to cast out fear. Men were to love God and love their neighbour, and in that spirit of love to keep the Ten Commandments. The Ten Commandments were not abrogated, but placed on a higher plane of duty, and made more difficult of observance, since it is more difficult to be spiritual than material, since it is higher to love than to fear; but with that increase of difficulty there was granted an increase of sufficing grace. This increase of sufficing grace must therefore flow, ordinarily, from the Christian Priesthood. To the Priesthood of the old law had been entrusted the old commandments; on them did it devolve to teach their observances, explain their significance, enforce the penalties of their infraction. The same duties must necessarily devolve on the Christian Priesthood. Christ's commandments in regard to the moral law must be taught, explained, enforced.

How has the Roman Church been loyal to that trust? Has she jealously enforced the law of love and tolerance? Has she, in season and out of season, taught and preached the observance of morality to her children? Has she been eager to enforce the letter of the law that killeth, or the spirit of the law that quickeneth? The answer, alas! is most

plain. In all her provisions for public worship she has entirely neglected the teaching of the moral law. Contrary to primitive custom and teaching, she makes no provision for congregational morning and evening services. The Word of God is never read to her people. Neither the Mosaic Decalogue nor the Christian Summary is ever read to her erring sheep. Her services begin and end in ceremonial, or in the letter of the law. She has abolished public confession, substituting for it a confession of the server, who even then confesses in his own name, and not in that of the congregation. The natural consequence of this hiding of the law of morality is writ large in the moral character of all nations and peoples over whom she has had sway. The more undisputed her sway, the less morality. The dreadful moral state of Christendom was that which prompted the lay revolt, which culminated in the sixteenth century, and which, for want of a better name, we call the Reformation. It was a moral revolt, rather than a doctrinal one. The sessions of the Council of Trent and the decrees on Reformation bear witness to the appalling state of the Priests and people over whom Rome had exercised jurisdiction. The terrible persecutions so contrary to the New Commandment of Christ, which Rome carried on before and after the Reformation, the wars which Popes waged, their employment of armies, glad enough to buy Swiss and German Protestants to harry Roman Catholic "rebels," their encouragement of wars, setting nation against nation, that they might profit by the weakness and dissensions of princes and peoples, all these are writ in characters of blood across the pages of history down to our own times.

It may be said that the Church of England acted cruelly and harshly to dissenters. This is open to question. Even if it be admitted, which is all that can fairly be admitted, that the Church of England did not sufficiently and energetically enough protest against the extreme measures decided on by the State, yet two things must be borne in mind: First, it is hard to throw off evil habits. Whatever of evil there was in this, the Church of England had learned from Rome in past centuries. Secondly, the position of the Church of England and that of the Church of Rome were widely different. One was an ecclesiastical body, subject to the laws of the land, having at no time supreme power to do as she liked in matters temporal. The other was an independent sovereignty, having no State above it, being a power under the sole and absolute sway of the Pope and Court of Rome, who issued their edicts and laws, not as a civil commonwealth, but as a religious empire. The Pope ruled not by virtue of his birth, or by the will of the people, but by virtue of his being Bishop of Rome. Rome could at any moment have refused to sanction war, plunder, persecution; but, like Peter, whom she claims to follow, she preferred to draw the sword, even though it caused the Lord to work a miracle to remedy the cruel act. Therefore the blame and responsibility of all acts done by Rome lies at the door of the Roman religion and Church.

The long chain of forgeries by which the Roman Church knit together her claims to rule, not only as the heir of St. Peter, but as the heir of Constantine and Charlemagne, needs but to be mentioned to show the callousness of the Papal Court to truth, and truth is the very keystone of all moral-

ity. On forgeries did it rely in its debates with the Greeks. On forgeries—and alas! that it should be said, of the very words of Holy Writ—did it rely to prove its novel doctrines against the Huguenots. In 1686, in order to counteract the spread of true biblical knowledge, there was issued from Louvain an edition of the sacred Scriptures, with convenient additions and interpolations to prove the Roman teaching. One example must suffice. “As they ministered to the Lord” (Acts xiii. 2) was rendered “As they offered to the Lord the Sacrifice of the Mass.”

The Breviary was enriched by many “pious frauds,” all to prove the primacy of St. Peter or the latest Roman teaching on a particular point. On the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul the response to the fifth lesson was made to read, “I will give thee all the kingdoms of the world,” as the promise of Christ to St. Peter. Thus on the words of Satan did they endeavour to rest their claims to universal dominion.*

So extraordinary an embellishment had to be withdrawn when the Holy Scriptures spread their rays over the nations; though the sixth responsory in the present Breviary conveys the same teaching, though not in the same form—it reads, “Thou art the shepherd of the sheep, and the Prince of the Apostles, and unto thee hath God given all the kingdoms of the world.”

The Breviary as it stands to-day is still a mass of fables and legends, ridiculous, many of them irreverent, and utterly beyond credence. What can be said of the moral tone of a Church that places on an equal footing lessons taken

* *Janus*, p. 324.

from Holy Writ and those taken from the Fathers? Opening the book at random, we have, on such a solemn day as Passion Sunday, the first, second, and third lessons from Jeremiah, the fourth, fifth, and sixth from Leo the Great, the seventh from the Gospel according to St. John (but only one verse, viii. 46), and the eighth and ninth from Gregory the Great. The placing of all sorts of legends on a par with devout writings of learned men, and both on a par with Holy Writ, must sap all idea of the value of truth from its readers or hearers.

The mention nowadays of witchcraft and sorcery only provokes a smile. It is forgotten what an important part they played in Roman teaching for centuries, and that it is to the Bull of Gregory XI. and other Papal documents that the rapid growth in the belief of witchcraft spread over Europe in the thirteenth and subsequent centuries. The Popes, the Dominicans and Thomas Aquinas insisted on the existence of witches, their nightly rides, their power of transforming themselves into black cats, toads, or other such creatures, and they burned disbelievers. It was expressly taught and maintained that Satan begot earthly children, such beings being called "incubi" and "succubi." And here are again evidences of the almost irresistible tendency of Roman teaching to materialize and carnalize everything. Evil as well as good is completely de-spiritualized. Nor must we think that such conceptions are impossible nowadays, and that Leo XIII. would resent being credited as a believer in such gross superstitions.

The recent revelations of Leo Taxil, showing how he duped the present Papal Court, claiming even that Leo

XIII. credited his fabrications about devil worship, in spite of the remonstrances of his own brother Bishops, and that his secretary, Diana Vaughan, repeatedly received the Papal benediction, are a sad proof of how easily error is welcomed by the Papal Court.

The sale of charms, amulets, and articles that have been "blessed" may be a fruitful source of revenue, but again bears witness to the lack of moral fibre encouraged by Roman teaching. On a par with this is the practice of selling the benefits of Masses for a period of fifty or more years. The seller can offer no guarantee that the Mass will be said for such a period, quite apart as to whether he can guarantee any benefit to the buyer. But it is tacitly understood that such offers are pious frauds, and they are only an excuse to obtain money. This is evident from the small sum at which such great privileges are sold. One hundred dollars, or twenty pounds sterling, will purchase "the fruits of two daily Masses for a period of fifty years." Those who give half the sum are to be benefited for half the time, and he who gives a dollar, or four shillings, is to be benefited for only six months. Such are the terms of an appeal lying before the writer.

To enumerate the crimes and wickednesses of countless Popes would be to make these pages unfit reading. It is sufficient condemnation of them that when a moderately virtuous man was Bishop of Rome historians should have taken the trouble to record the fact, as if it were of such exceptional occurrence that it invited special attention being paid to it. The history of the Church in Germany was a long record of fighting, intriguing Bishops and Archbishops.

The history of the Church in France is a record of intriguing *Petits-maitres*, of men high in Papal favour, of men loaded with ecclesiastical honours, and yet of men pandering to the vices of kings, if not themselves voluptuaries and lying intriguers. The ignorance of the common clergy was a by-word; the wickedness of all kinds imputed to monks and friars was the measure of the public opinion in which they were held. Even Cardinal Pole, that *angel of peace and love*, recommended that the remaining monasteries deserved to be abolished. "Many of them are so vile that they are a shame to the seculars," was his sentence on the monks and friars. The very rise, century after century, of the different orders of monks and friars, was owing to the healthy protest of the laity against the lack of moral teaching. Poor souls, they longed for something better, they felt that they were not being fed on the pure milk of the Gospel. They sent forth from their body men, as inspired as the prophets of old, to call Pope and Priests and people to repentance. The Christian body politic, before the Reformation, thus endeavoured to win back for itself some degree of moral health, and to purge itself of dead works. It came to be the popular opinion that good works and morality could only be found among heretics or in the mountain passes, and in countries remote from Rome. Roman writers, devout sons of the Church, have left their testimony against its utter lack of morality, painted in blacker colours than ever Luther or his successors used. The enforced celibacy of the clergy wrought havoc in every parish. If a country Priest wanted sanction for his acts he had but to cite as his examples the Cardinals, and even Popes themselves, who

maintained a retinue of handmaids. But by lack of morality is not meant only the breach of the seventh commandment. Was any other commandment better observed? The sale of pardons finally broke down whatever little barrier the Church had left standing, and thus immorality became twice immoral, for to hypocrisy was added the consent of the Church.

What Machiavelli said of the moral state of the people in his day was said in far coarser words, time and time again, by Bishops and preachers and persons since canonized by Rome as saints. He writes:

“The Italians are indebted to the Roman Church and its Priests for our having lost all religion and devotion through their bad examples and having become an unbelieving and evil people,”* and again :

“The nearer a people dwells to the Roman Court the less religion it has. Were that court set down among the Swiss, who still remain more pious, they too would soon be corrupted by its vices.”†

When at conferences between Romans and Protestants the influence of the Papacy and the Roman religion on the moral life of the people was discussed, the Romans frankly surrendered, declaring:

“Here our apology ceases ; we are conquered here, and can neither deny nor excuse.”†

To ask Rome if she has been a jealous steward of morality sounds like a mockery. Sad that it should be so. How does that Church which Leo XIII. declares has lost the

* Quoted by Janus, p. 289.

† Ibid, p. 295.

true *sacerdotium* stand when tested by that question? She may confess with shame that her people have erred, that her Bishops and Priests have not lived the ideal life. And she does so confess. But if history be appealed to it will assuredly render the verdict that as observers of the moral law, England and English-speaking races are on a far higher plane than countries where Rome has been and is in the ascendancy. History will say of the Anglican Church that amongst her people there is a public conscience which will not tolerate breaches of the commandments in any of their officials, ecclesiastic or civil. History will also say that ever since the Reformation her Archbishops and Bishops have been, for the most part, godly-living and God-fearing men; men of clean lives, and though Romans have heaped malignant epithet upon epithet on Cranmer, yet his private character stands out clear and unsmirched. Of which Pope could it ever be said, as it was said of Cranmer, that the surest road to obtain a favour of him was to do him an ill turn?

Roman writers and Roman preachers have borne witness to the high standard of morality of Anglican Churchmen in the mother country, in the colonies and in the United States. Romans and sectarians have both attributed much of this high standard to the fact of the ten commandments being read to the people every Sunday.

Assuredly the reading of God's law must pierce the conscience, must warn, must induce amendment, and, oftener still, must deter. Assuredly so, but the reading of God's Holy Word, the congregational worship of Matins and Evensong must keep the conscience sensitive. The recourse to private confession only in extreme cases must also pre-

serve the moral tone of the Christian. Frequent confession can but dull and deaden the moral sense of responsibility. The marriage of the clergy has done more than any other one thing to preserve and keep before the nation the family idea; that family idea which we bear witness to by the very names we give to the Deity, and by the alliance which Christ has spoken of between Himself and His spouse, the Church.

We have now reached the conclusion of our examination into the Christian Priesthood or true *sacerdotium*. Knowingly, we have shirked no point that Romans have brought against the Anglican Church. We have examined the powers of the Priesthood as Christ-given. We have seen when they were bestowed. We have, in as much detail as such a work as this will allow, considered the powers of the Priesthood as they relate to Teaching, Evangelizing, Baptizing, Binding and Loosing, Celebrating the Holy Eucharist, Offering Sacrifice, and Teaching the Moral Law.

We have not shrunk from confessing that the Anglican Church has departed from scriptural and primitive practice, wherever our investigations led us logically to that conclusion. We believe that we have stated the Roman practice and teaching fairly and honestly. We can safely assert that such has been our intention. Our examination is concluded; we rest our case. We leave it to the reader to say whether the charge that Leo XIII. advanced is true, that the Anglican Church has not the true Christian Priesthood. Nay, further, we leave it to him to say which of the two Churches has been the most faithful steward of the mysteries of God entrusted to the Priesthood instituted by Christ, that of Rome or of England.

END OF VOLUME I.